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PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

DAVIDS R. MRS.

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'Tis self whereby we suffer. 'Tis the greed
To grasp, the hunger to assimilate
All that earth holds of fair and delicate,
The lust to blend with beauteous lives, to feed
And take our fill of loveliness, which breed
This anguish of the soul intemperate.
'Tis self that turns to harm and poisonous hate
The calm, clear life of love that [Arahants] lead.
Oh ! that 'twere possible this self to burn
In the pure flame of joy contemplative !
Then might we love all loveliness, nor yearn
With tyrannous longings ; undisturbed might live
Greeting the summer's and the spring's return,
Nor wailing that their joy is fugitive.

J. A. SYMONDS.

. . . Was erlöschen sollte, is erloschen, das Feuer der Begier,
des Hasses, der Verblendung. In wesenloser Ferne liegt Fürchten
wie Hoffen ; das Wollen, das Sichanklammern an den Wahn
der Ichheit ist überwunden, wie der Mann die törichte Wünsche
der Kindheit von sich abwirft.

H. OLDENBERG.

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- III. *KANKHĀ REVATA (burgess), Sāvattī 7

¹ Pronounce the vowels as in German or Italian, but the unaccented *a* as *u* in *nut*. Every *a* is thus pronounced, if it have no long mark ; e.g., Revata=, not Ray-vah-ta, but Ray-vā-tā ; the emphasis not as in *tomato*, but as in *comforter*. Pronounce single consonants as in English, except *c*, which always=*ch*, as in *church* ; and *g*, which is always hard, as in *get*. Pronounce dotted dentals as English dentals ; in undotted dentals let the tongue strike the teeth. In doubled consonants detach as in Italian, thus : kam-ma, Pup-pa. In aspirated consonants let the aspirate be heard, e.g., in *Thera*, t-h as in *fat-head* (t-hay-rā) ; Channa, ch as ch-h in *beech-hill* ; visuddhi as d-h in *dead-head*, with a second *d* interposed ; y=ng ; the sound is more usually printed as *ṇ*.

² * signifies an *agga-sāvaka*, or, disciple, chief in some attainment, according to *Anguttara-Nikāya* i, 'Eṭad-agga-vagga'. Names in capitals are those of Dhammapāla's *mahā-sāvaka*. Names in *italicized* capitals are those classed as leading Theras in Vinaya and Nikāyas (cf. R. O. Franke, *J.P.T.S.*, 1906, p. 23).

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INTRODUCTION

WITH this second volume of the so-called Psalms of the Early Buddhists, my task is finished of laying before English readers a translation, at its best but rough and provisional, of the remarkable anthology of the *Thera-therī-gāthā* contained in the Pali Canon of the Three Piṭakas. Of the stanzas in this volume of the poems, numbering, if we discount duplicates, approximately 1,220, only a small proportion, under 100, have hitherto appeared in English dress. These are the verses, specified throughout the work, which appear in English translations of the *Dhammapada*, *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Udāna*, the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, the *Jātaka*, and the *Milinda*. Only in German, in Dr. K. E. Neumann's translation, published fourteen years ago, has the work up till now appeared in its entirety in any European tongue.

Concerning the Pali text itself, I have already written in the sister volume. Thanks to the institution of the Pali Text Society and to the *editio princeps* of the text, prepared by the fine scholarship of Dr. Hermann Oldenberg, and forming one of that Society's early volumes, there has been no need for the translator to wear eyes and patience in deciphering undivided lines of alien scripts on palm-leaves of mellow ochre, unsuited to readers in this light-starved climate.

The residual difficulties encountered in coping with the poetic diction in general, and with many an obscure allusion in particular, have at times been very formidable. As with the sister volume, however, three powerful aids have been at hand throughout—my husband's Pali collectanea and knowledge of Pali, the Neumann translation, and

Dhammapāla's commentary:—the *Paramattha - Dīpanī* That neither my husband, nor any other competent critic of Pali or English has gone systematically through the work in proof-stage is a serious drawback; but there are limits to what one can ask of the patience, kindness, and leisure of others, as well as to the time during which a book can be suffered to block the way. Anyway, I have had the benefit of his ready help in most of the cruces of the work, and in much besides. But there are a host of minor flaws, let alone greater ones. Dr. Neumann's presentation of each poem as a whole was of great preliminary assistance, and to differ from him in many a detail of interpretation was a healthy stimulus to closer inquiry, such as he will be content to reckon among the fruits of his pioneer venture.

Then as to the Commentary to which I have referred in the introduction to the *Sisters*:—the whole of this long work was transcribed, during 1911 and half 1912, in considerably over a thousand foolscap pages, by the talent and indomitably sustained industry of my colleague, Miss Mabel Hunt. Of her transcript the former half is in process of collation by Mrs. M. H. Bode, with the Singhalese palm-leaf copy, lent by the Royal Library of Copenhagen, which unfortunately comes to an untimely end at the *Solasa-Nipāta*—in this volume, Canto XV. The present translation could not await the help of that collation; hence to what extent the Burmese MS. will prove faulty, my readings from it will have suffered.

Even had it been consulted in a critically edited edition, such as the Pali Text Society hopes in the near future to publish, the Commentary is doubtless no infallible guide, historically or grammatically. Its narrative contains much hagiographical myth; its exegesis is coloured by later developments of doctrine, and is twisted by professional exigencies of edification. Such historico-scientific defects were unfelt in Dharmapāla's age. He had no conception of historical criticism. If he quotes two versions of a Thera's story, he does not attempt to weigh the evidence, and make inferences as to historical truth. But to gird at

him for lacking anything so new-born in ourselves were to show an equal deficiency in historical sense.

Now the Commentator alleges that there were Thera verses recited 'at the time of the first great Council.' But he also relates that many Theras lived later than that, notably TEKICCHAKĀRI, in the reign of Asoka's father, and VĪTASOKA and ĒKA-VIĪĀRIYA, who are alleged to have been brothers of Asoka himself. Their verses may have been incorporated in the Anthology at the 'Third Great Council,' held at Patna during Asoka's reign. Dhammapāla asserts that this was so in the case of the first-named poet.

There is nothing incredible in the view that the Anthology is thus a collection containing an early nucleus with later accretions. There may well have been, among the constituents of the earliest body of the Dhamma, many such verses containing doctrines generally expressed, or personal confessions of faith associated with the names of particular teachers. Dr. Winternitz concedes as much for one or two of the stanzas which I have tabulated in the index as Refrain-verses.¹ It is probably true of many more. The Sangha is said to have been an organization of over forty years' standing when its founder passed away. It is inconceivable that its unwritten 'literature'—rules, transactions, tenets, homilies, hymns, etc.—should not, during those many years of young energy and endeavour, have also become to some extent organized.

As the Sangha, during the next two or three centuries, continued to develop, so doubtless did the stock of gāthās grow, till conceivably the collection of poems committed to memory by experts became a fluctuating quantity, so that revision and a definite selection became desirable. And this, it appears, was effected at the Council of Patna.

There may possibly have been further accretions before the time when the Piṭakas were committed to writing. Dr. Winternitz suggests signs of later thought in KHANḌA-SUMANA's stanza. That of SANDHITA² is along similar lines.

¹ *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* (1918), ii. 88.

² XCVI.; CLXIX.

But that the great bulk of the poems are relatively early seems probable by both the doctrine and diction of them. The former and the latter are true counterparts of the Four Nikāyas :—the true Suttanta teaching, and its idiom, so far as that is metrical. ‘Anicca,’ ‘dukkha,’ ‘anatta,’ the Four truths, the Ariyan Path, the seven Buddhas, Arahants as no less *buddhā* and *tathāgata* than their great Master,¹ and so forth :—such is the range of the ancient Theravādism of these poems, no less than it is that of the Suttantas and the *Sutta-Nipāta*, and the *Dhammapada*.

If European Indologists eventually agree to refer the final inclusion of all but negligible increments to the Council of Patna (in the eighteenth year of Asoka’s reign), there seems to be no valid reason why orthodox Buddhists should not concur with this. Admitting, then, this range of nearly two and a half centuries for the growth of the Anthology as such, and discounting the pious tradition that most of the putative authors were contemporaries of the first Theras, I am not so sceptically disposed as to see in most of the names of those authors a large number of literary fictions, nor, in many of the poems, literary concoctions to explain so many names. A goodly proportion of the names are admitted by the Commentary, one or two by the text itself, to have been nicknames, such as are so frequent in Indian literature.² The adoption of a new name on leaving the world for a religious order is of much later date. It is, however, not inconceivable that, among the nicknames, one here and there may have been adopted by a poet to screen his identity, such a name, *e.g.*, as Lone-dweller for Prince Tissa-Kumāra, brother, according to Dhammapāla, of the Emperor Asoka. But that name or legend is largely literary fiction is a supposition for which there seems no sufficient historical necessity. If the *Thera-theri-gāthā* took two or three centuries to reach its present canonical proportions, this permits on the average an output of between one and two completed

¹ Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, i., p. 112, § 11 (1).

² Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 198.

poems every year. And the Sangha was growing every year. Hence it must have contained a much greater proportion of men and women capable of poetical self-expression than the relatively small number whose verses were deemed worthy of canonical honours. All is, of course, conjecture, but I incline to think that a wholesale and indiscriminating scepticism as to the historical reality of the men and women whose names are attached to these poems is too easy. It is more *likely* than not that at some time within those centuries they lived, were members of the Order, and either composed, or in another way came to have associated with their self-expression—in sermons or converse—the poems bearing their name.

I see no good reason to disallow this for the majority of the names. Some there are, it is true, where the real individual does not stand out at all. Here it is not impossible there may have been one or more bhikkhus with whom the poem was associated, but the *name* may be either a soubriquet, or a name to the poem itself. Take the gāthā entitled Māṇava (LXXIII., p. 73). The name means simply 'brahmin youth,' just as Kumāra means noble youth, *Junker*. The experience related is a phase in the legend of the Buddha himself, just as the story of Yasa (CXVII.) also became a phase. But for the Buddhists—and for how many more than Buddhists!—it is typical of what might amongst us be called 'The Soul's Awakening.' And there may well have been a verse (compiled by some early long-forgotten member of the Order)—perhaps a fraction of a longer poem about the Great Renunciation—expressing this typical phase, and bearing a typical name, analogous to our 'Everyman.'

Other numbers may be selected as bearing names equally shadowy. Thus discriminating, we come to see our cluster of Theras in a perspective like that of a Renaissance painter's aerial gallery—a row of saintly personages clearly portrayed in front, and behind them, not bodies but just faces, leaning out from cloudy bars in all degrees of diminishing clearness.

The length of the biographical legend prefixed, together with citation of the corresponding legend from the *Apadāna* to each poem, varies greatly with each Thera. I have excised the whole of each story with the exception of the, for us, less mythical account of the saint's last and culminating span of life on this limited if indisputable earth of ours. The work, as we know, is early-medieval, and the purist—I use the term in all respect—may ill brook the juxtaposition of any of it beside the purer and more venerable Theravāda of the Gāthās. Let it, however, not be forgotten, firstly, that Dhammapāla claims to have based his Commentary on 'the method of the Old Commentary or Commentaries':

*' sahaṣṣaṇ vannaṇaṇ yaṁmā dhūrate Satthu Sāsanaṇ
pubbācariyaśīkhāṇaṇ tiṭṭhateva vinicchayo,
tasmā tam-avalambitvā ogāhivāna pañca pi
Nikāye upanissāya Porāṇatthakathā-nayaṇ
suvisuddhaṇ asankiṇṇaṇ nīpunaṭṭhavinicohayaṇ
Mahā-Vihāra-vāsīnaṇ samayaṇ avilomayaṇ. . . . '*¹

'In order that the Master's doctrine should bear its manifold explication, and the interpretation of those lions, the teachers of old, should be established, therefore [will I, hard though it be, to the best of my powers make a Commentary] resting upon that [interpretation], diving also into the Five Nikāyas, and in dependence on the method of the Old Commentary (or Commentaries)—so pure and unadulterated in its interpretation of subtle meaning—the concordant views of them that dwell at the Great Minster'

¹ From the opening stanzas of the Commentary. They are void of interest except the lines here quoted. Very similar lines preface the other parts of the *Paramattha-Dīpanī*. The Br. transcript reveals at once the error, so easy to make in reading Singhalese, standing in Professor E. Müller's edition of the *Therīgāthā Commentary*, undiscerned by me in the 'envoi' of the *Sisters*. There it is *Porāṇatthakathā-tayaṇ* (triplet of Old Commentaries) instead of '*nayaṇ*'—'*method*.' As, however, there seem to have been *three* Commentaries in Ceylon in Dhammapāla's time, the *tayaṇ* may be virtually, if not formally, correct.

[of Anurādhapura, Ceylon]. And this Old Commentary was probably the *Sīhalatthakathā* (Singhalese Commentary), which, in the relatively modern work *Saddhamma-Sangaha*, is said to have comprised the 'Great [Minster] Atthakathā,' the 'Great Raft' (*paccarī*), and the 'Great Kurunda Atthakathās.'¹ Hence, the juxtaposition of the Theras' pre-Asokan and Asokan poems with the prose of six to nine centuries later is not so forced as at first sight it might seem. The matter and the method of the more modern work is not really a mushroom invention of story and edifying exegesis. That work is but a recast, a re-compiled edition in scholastic Pali, of the older Singhalese or Tamil prose framework. Set down in writing a few centuries before Dhammapāla's time, the legends were oral tradition long before that. Seen in this perspective the Commentary has a venerableness of its own, bridging over the seas of time between Asoka and the days of the great scholastics to a greater extent than at first appears. Evolving inevitably as secular prose framing the sacredly intact verses, it forms with these a picture, as it were, of wooded slopes of verdant growth clothing the hills that tower relatively unchanging above them—a picture that would lose if both features were not presented.

In the second place, the presentation of verses, solemn or otherwise, in a framework of prose narrative is essentially the historical Buddhist way of imparting canonical poetry. Dhammapāla's chronicles are, for the most part, unduplicated in any other extant work; but not seldom they run on all fours, not only with parallel chronicles in Buddhaghosa's Commentaries, but also with the prose framework of poems in *Sutta Nipāta* or *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, not to mention the *Jātaka*. Centuries divide the compilation of these three last-named prose frameworks from the Paramattha-Dīpanī, and yet we read on with no sense of rupture. And why? Because Dhammapāla is following, as he said, the *naya* of the Old Atthakathā, or 'talk about the meaning,' and that old talk came down to him unbroken, if varied in diction,

¹ *J.P.T.S.*, 1890, p. 55; cf. my *Bud. Psy.*, xxi. f.

from the earlier ages of his faith. With some excision, therefore, and a little condensing of the prose, I have presented the gāthās in the way in which they have lived for so many centuries in the living tradition of Pali Buddhism.

In defending thus the presentation of the 'psalms' in their native and historical setting, I admit that, as elucidating the circumstances under which the poems were composed, the Commentary varies greatly in utility. At times its utility is at zero-point—*e.g.*, in those poems which are sermons (*e.g.*, CCXXXV.), or collections of folk philosophy, or gnomic runes (*e.g.*, CLXXII.), or hymns of general import (XCIV., CXVII.). Sometimes the Thera's verses bear their own sufficient explanation, as in those of CŪĪA-PANTHAKA, SUNĪTA, NĀGĀSAMĀLA, TELAKĀNI, etc. The Commentary here does but etch in the individual a little more sharply. But there are a certain number which, like so many Jātakas, are hardly intelligible without the accompanying prose. With its help they become not only intelligible, but intelligible after a simple, ingenuous fashion. Thus read, how clearly and naturally stands out the suicidal wail of MAHĀNĀMA (CXV.), the awe and swiftly growing insight of KIMBILA at the cinematographic vision before him (CXVIII.), the humour and earnestness of MAHĀKĀLA (CXXXVI.), the dream of USABHA begging in state (CLIX.), the lure of KAPPAṬA-KURA's rags (CLX.), the rebuke of SĀṬIMATTIYA (CLXXIX.), or the revolt against the ever-present satellites in EKA-VIHĀRIYA's opening line (CCXXXIV.)! How do we not now understand PAKKHA's comment as he watches the scrambling kites (LXIII.), or ĀTUMA's bamboo canes mutually stifling each other (LXXII.), or CAKKHUPĀLA's virtuous wrath (XCV.)! In Dr. Oldenberg's words on the bulk of the Jātaka verses, we may say of most of these few poems: 'Nobody can imagine that the Buddhists would have found pleasure in reciting such unintelligible fragments to each other.' And can we not, indeed, feel justified in going equally far for these Theragāthās (at least in the poems cited above) as for the *Jātaka*, *Sutta-Nipāta*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, and say: 'The verses taken alone are to a large

extent meaningless. Then comes in the prose, and by it all becomes clear. That the verses were intended to complete just that context indicated by the prose is self-evident.¹

Let us anyway, with what credulity we can muster, briefly glance at such information as the Commentary yields concerning the Theras in general: their numbers, age, and social status while yet in the life of 'the house,' with a comparative glance at their Sisters' verses.

And first we find that, among several duplicated and triplicated names, there are but five of whom it is alleged that they stand for Theras who composed a second poem in the collection. These are,

Adhimutta (CXIV., CCXLVIII.).

Kimbila (CXVIII., CXXXVIII.).

Mālunkyā's Son (CCXIV., CCLII.).

Pārāpariya (CCXLIX., CCLVII.).

Revata (XLII., CCXLIV.).

This reduces the possible 264 authors to 259. The Commentator is careful to point out these few traditional identities, among other apparently possible and even probable duplicates. This makes his silence concerning the latter—*e.g.*, concerning the two Woodland Vacchas, the two Puṇṇamāśas, and again concerning identical poems ascribed to two authors, *e.g.*, CLXXII., CLXXXIV.—all the stranger. Yet it is perhaps not so strange, when we remember that neither Anthology nor Commentary was the independent work of one or two persons of literary genius, but that both were accretions of slow growth. The added poems would fall into their respective Nipātas (or Cantos), an easy matter when the whole Anthology was completed before it was set down, at a later age, in writing. The 'talk' about each gāthā added would also be, so to speak,

¹ *J.P.T.S.*, 1912. 'The Ākhyāna type and the Jātakas,' pp. 20, 21. One, indeed, of the legends presents its poem in the very words in which the *Jātaka Commentary* presents the Ākhyāna. This is Dhammika's poem CXCV. On both legend and poem, see Additions and Corrections in Appendix, opposite p. 185.

instituted in its proper order, and also eventually and at a still later age, committed to writing. And Dhammapāla, recasting the 'Old Atthakathā,' judged himself bound, not to revise the matter, or to make historical and literary criticisms about it, like us irreverent outsiders (*ito bahiddhā*), but to follow the traditional 'method,' as he says, and set down pretty much what he found. Hence he does not speculate in footnotes on possibly bifurcated legends such as those of the two brahmins of Kosala, MIGASIRA (CL.), and VAGĪSA (CCLXIV.); nor on a possible confusion between the legends of SOMAMITTA, pupil of Vimala, and VIMALA, pupil of Amit(t)a (CXXXIV., CLXXXV.), or between those of uncle SANKICCA and nephew ADHIMUTTA (CCXL., CCXVIII.), etc. The 'revised version' upon which he is engaged is not of the Canon itself, yet is it a very venerable adjunct to the sacred books, and he writes as one from whom an orthodox conservatism is expected, an Āchariya of the Kāñcīpura school.

Secondly, the Commentary enables us to take a census of the various classes and districts from which these 259 poets were traditionally believed to have sprung. Thus we find of—

Brahmins	...	...	...	...	118 ¹
Khattiyas (rājas, etc., 'clansmen,' 'minister's' son)	...	...	...	...	60 ²
Owners, or at least tenants, of land, cultivators	...	...	...	...	7 ³
Burgesses, such as seṭṭhis, or councillors, commoners, merchants, or simply 'rich' men's sons (14)	...	...	...	...	53 ⁴
Craftsmen, elephant-trainers, caravan guides	...	...	...	...	9
Actor	...	...	...	...	1
Pariahs, labourers, 'slaves,' fisherman (1)	...	...	...	...	10
Illegitimate sons of kings, sons of <i>religious</i> ⁴	...	...	...	...	8
Sons of simply 'lay-adherents'	...	...	...	...	8
					259

¹ Mālunkya's son is reckoned as of this class (CCXIV.; cf. XX.).

² The four 'hut'-theras (LVI.-LIX.), likened in circumstances to the Vajjian rāja's son (LV.), are reckoned as also of this class.

³ *Bhojakā, kuṭumbikā*; I cannot class these according to *vaṇṇa*.

⁴ Gavampati was a wealthy commoner's, or seṭṭhi's, son, see *Vinaya Texts*, i. 110. I have used 'councillor' for seṭṭhi, as implying that

That a large proportion of these men of 'letters' should belong to the class which were the custodians of religious lore and sacred hymns was inevitable. The really interesting feature is that the residuum, consisting of noblemen trained in war, governance, and sports, of merchants, craftsmen, and the like, occupied with business, commerce, and constructive work, and of the illiterate poor, should be as numerous as it is. Or, indeed, that there should have been any of the last-named group at all as composers of verses deserving inclusion in the Canon. In fact, it would not be entirely unreasonable to conclude that if four per cent. of the canonical poets were drawn from the poor and despised of the earth, from whom no such products as verses could be expected, then the proportion of bhikkhus, *in general*, coming from that class may have been considerable. This suggestion is worth bringing up as showing that the Commentary does not altogether confirm the view that Buddhism, at its inception, had but little power to draw to itself the lowly, the wretched, and the suffering.¹

Another conclusion which the Commentary, in so far as it faithfully handed on more ancient traditions, goes far to modify, is that Buddhism was not for children nor for the childlike.² The testimony borne by some of the psalms to the youthfulness of the compilers and to the Sāsana as attracting the young, is largely complemented by the Commentary. In contrast to the Brahmin ordinance which prescribed a retreat to a recluse's career for the declining year's of life, the Sangha welcomed the young, and was sceptical as to the average worth of old age renunciation.³ We find accordingly a goodly number of

the burgess so termed held some municipal post, head of a guild, or the like. The word means simply chief, or best.

¹ Cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 5th edition, p. 180 and n.

² *Ibid.*

³ As Dr. Neumann points out in Upāli's poem (CLXXX.), where, however, *navapabbajito navo*, 'novice new,' does not necessarily mean 'young,' Cf. also *Ang.*, iii. 78, and above (462). 'Thera' means

our poets leaving the world as youths and becoming arahants at the threshold of manhood: MĀNAVA, ADHIMUTTA, RĀHULA, SĀNU, KUMĀRA-KASSAPA, and many others. But a more striking feature yet is the group of child-arahants, a few of whom betray their childhood in their verses:—BHADDA, SANKHOGGA, SĪVALI, the SOPĀKAS, and SUMANA. In true Buddhist fashion, the age of seven is assigned to all at their ordination, as the typical childhood figure. And the childlike diction and ideas of the words put into their mouths are worthy of note.¹ We have only to compare the lines:

- (1) *'So too ye should be very good
Towards all creatures everywhere and everyone.'*

and

- (2) *'Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions
and so wise,
And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the Master
I,' etc.*

and

- (8) *'An only child was I, to mother dear
And to my father dear,' etc.*

with any of the verses ascribed to adult and cultured arahants, however unknown elsewhere in the Canon's roll of honour:—

- (4) *'Errant in wilderness of heresies,
By their contagion dased and led astray.' . . .*

- (5) *'Curbed in the harness of right energy,
Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.'*

- (6) *'Showing a vision by the light of truth
Of things as come to be by way of cause.' . . .²*

'elder' literally, but technically is simply 'senior.' Cf. Rhys Davids, s.v. Elder, *Encyclopædia Religion and Ethics*.

¹ This does not apply to the abnormally precocious Sīvali, nor to the words spoken of Sumana (2) by the Buddha:

'See, Sāriputta, how the little lad. . . .'

and annexed to his gāthā.

² CCXXVI, CCXL, LX, XXXIII, CCXXVII, and CCXIX.

to discern at once the difference between the child's and the (cultured) adult's language and sentiments.¹ Even if we see, in the little narratives of three of the poorest, most illiterate brethren:—the peasant Sumangala, the vagrant Kappata-Kura, the scavenger Sunita²—an approach to the style of these child-verses, yet does the standpoint, yet do the experiences, betray the adult mind. Hence the verses support the legend of the Commentary, and strengthen our belief in the faithfulness of the prose tradition which saw, in its great founder, not only a mind of consummate wisdom, but a heart filled with tender compassion, strong and willing to save even these little ones, these *parvulos trahendos*.³ The stories of that net of insight spread in the early morning by the Master 'great in pity,' as the 'Buddha-eye' surveys the suffering world; of the maturing light of emancipation 'shining as a lamp within a jar' even in the heart of a child; of the journeys to charnel field or to palace to save; as well as of the welcoming the parents' advent:—these may possibly give us a truer picture of a movement sometimes held to be reserved for the middle-aged well-to-do, and may even dispose us to adapt to it a later Divine saying: 'Suffer me to come to the little children, for of such too is my kingdom that is within you.'

Thirdly, the Commentary, without calling for over-much credulity, suggests a modification of the contrast lately drawn by Dr. Winternitz,⁴ that a far greater proportion of

¹ Cf. the Pali itself :

- (1) *evaṃ saḍḍesu pānesu sabbattha kusalo siyā.*
- (2) *tato pañhe apucchi maṃ pañhānaṃ kovido vidū,*
acchambī ca abhīto ca vyākāsiṃ satthuno ahaṃ.
- (3) *ekaputto ahaṃ āsiṃ piyo mātu piyo pitu. . . .*
- (4) *ditṭhigahaṇapakkhanno parāmāseṇa mohito. . . .*
- (5) *viriyadhuraṇiggahīto na yito dūraṃ gamissase, citta !*
- (6) *paṭiccuppannadhammānaṃ yathāvālokadassano. . . .*

² XLIII., CLX., CCXLII.

³ A phrase of Gerson's, the mystic scholastic.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, ii. 1, p. 88.

the Sisters' poems are occupied with external experience than those of the Brethren, which deal more with introspective self-expression. This at first sight is obviously true; a census yields us these results, roughly estimated:

		External Experience.	Internal Experience.	Mixed
Sisters' psalms	73 ...	42	28	5
Brothers' psalms	264 ...	[114	141	9 ¹

When, however, with the aid of the Commentary, we look more closely into these 141 introspective poems of the Theras, we find that upwards of forty of them² are not confessions of personal religious experience, but hortatory verses, purporting to have been delivered as so many sermons to bhikkhus or to laymen, either in response to invitations, or as part of the duties of a Thera. Now the Sisters had, as we may infer from the Vinaya, but a limited scope as preachers. They occupied, according to the letter of the Sāsana, the position of novices with respect to the Brethren, however 'senior' (therī) a woman might be among the Sisters in age or in standing. When a Therī, in spite of this, was so gifted a teacher as to become, as such, a valued servant to the Order, her merits are duly recorded.³ But there is practically none of the Sisters' psalms that is professedly a *public* homily, even though such homilies are themselves the subject of at least one poem.⁴ The chant of consolation to the bereaved mothers comes nearest to being one.⁵ The poems are largely occupied with the getting out of their cage, and so they sing 'the strange things women carry under their silence, that silence of the centuries which is so profound, that when it is broken their voice sounds like a cry.'⁶ But to teach in due season was the duty of a Thera; and strangely is this at times overlooked by a want of sympathy, which sees in books like this a proof that the object of becoming a Thera was

¹ E.g., Vangīsa, CCLXIV.

² From the first Canto I have selected only XII., XV., XXXIII. XXXV., XXXVI., LXXXV., CVI., CXIV.

³ Cf. *Sisters*, p. xxxvi.

⁴ *Sukkā's*, xxxiv.

⁵ By Patācārā, l.

⁶ M. P. Willcocks, *Wings of Desire*.

solely to live in solitude, absorbed, when not coming round with a bowl, in idle musings and ineffective sentiment!

Go ye now for the welfare of the many . . . preach ye the doctrine . . . and I will go also, to preach¹ . . .,' was the general marching order given from the first. And that order the verses, as supplemented by the Commentary, show as being dutifully kept. To the 'close time' of respite we shall come presently.

If then we deduct from the 141 introspective poems at least 46, containing nothing but so many miniature versified sermons of relatively general, non-subjective import—or, it may be, *metrical portions*, alone surviving, of longer prose discourses—we get the following corrected table:—

Poems.		Homilies.	External Experience.	Internal Experience.	Mixed.
Brethren : 264	...	46	114	95	9

proportions which, while they still uphold the general truth of Dr. Winternitz's statement, modify the significance of it to a considerable extent.

Fourthly, the so-often reiterated record that the poems were first publicly uttered as 'confessions of *aññā*,' deserves a passing word. The history of this term, of its use and of its *non*-use, in Buddhism has yet to be written. Signifying literally *ad-sciens*, 'ac-knowledging,' *aññā* is used in the Suttanta books to signify that mental flash, or suffusion of intuitive knowledge and assurance of 'salvation' ^A constituting emancipation, or arahantship. The Buddha testifies to having realized it under the Bodhi-Tree, but uses the kindred, less specialized word *ñāṇa*. In the mouth of *bhikkhus* such testifying was no guarantee of right (*sammā*) gnosis; it might be made through mental illusion, conceit, frenzy, or even evil design (*Anguttara* iii., 119). Genuine, or *samma-d-aññā* is, of course, intended by the Commentary. This, in *Dhammapada*, verse 96, is rendered by Fausböll *absoluta cognitio*; by Max Müller, 'true knowledge.' That the testifying to it is as old as the Four Nikāyas, appears from the little episode in the *Anguttara Nikāya*,

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i., p. 112.

iii. 359 :—Two disciples who have newly realized this intuitive knowledge or gnosis, wait upon the Buddha and testify to the same before him. As they again depart, the Buddha remarks: ‘Even so do men of true breed declare gnosis (*aññā*);—they tell of the good they have won (*attha*), but they do not bring in their ego (*attā*).’¹ That the public individual testimony to the assurance of salvation won, invited yesterday and to-day in Christian revivalist meetings, should have been thus anticipated 2000 years ago in Buddhist usage, is an interesting link. And *aññā* is rarely met with except in connexion with the confession of the attainment of such consciousness:—the ‘fruition of arahantship’ (*arahattaphala*).

Fifthly, whereas the Commentary lacks the inspired flame that touches now and again the varying quality of the more venerable Pali verses, and reads often no better than mere fable, it does invest the poems very often with a heightened personal colour, revealing behind many of them a touch of background, like the quiet river-threaded campaign, or the hill-perched Vihāra of a Tuscan Holy Family or single saintly figure. And this is the more welcome in a book where the majority of the poems are ascribed to authors who are mere names, not met with elsewhere in the Canon. Of authors known to us, we hail the better acquaintance with, *e.g.*, (1) the gifted children of Sārī the brahmin lady,² when we now see the saintly SĀRI-PUTTA, her eldest born, advancing to visit the sick, collectively in the infirmary, and again in the person of his own younger brother, the three boy-nephews standing at attention, coached by anxious Uncle REVATA; or (2) with the faithful ĀNANDA doing sentry-go with lantern and staff around the chamber of the

¹ The context shows that no derogatory judgment on confessions, such as these poems contain, is implied, but that only self-conceit and self-advertisement are condemned. Cf. *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*, § 1116 (*Bud. Psy. Ethics*, 298 f.), and below, verse 1076.

² A touching picture of Sārī, trying to keep Revata by her, the rest of her children and grandchildren having left the world, is given in *Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 188 f. Dr. Burlingame is bringing out a complete translation of this lengthy but interesting work.

Man Beloved ; or (3) with VAKKALI, tearing himself from that Beloved's presence ; or (4) with KASSAPA the Great, vainly trying to escape his last marriage with her who had been fit mate to him in previous lives. But it is no less pleasant to learn a little more than the mere name of others : to see, as we read SUMANGALA's rough-hewn words, the toil- and soil-stained peasants at work in the fields, or ' Rags-and-Rice ' casting wistful glances at his old discarded gear ; to feel behind LOMASA-KANGIYA's doughty words the mother's fears, or the father's in JAMBUGĀMIKA's letter, or the midnight horrors from which little SOPĀKA is rescued ; or to bear in mind, as we read their delightful verses, EKA-VIHĀRIYA's court-bred youth, and the dramatic and rhetorical proficiency of TĀLAPUṬA. For the majority of these Theras, apart from their name in the Anthology, and their legend in the Commentary, are strangers to the Canon. And it is noteworthy that the finer poems belong, on the whole, to these, rather than to the Theras who rank high in Vinaya and Suttanta.

In the limited if earnest lines collected under the great names of SĀRIPUṬA, MOGGALLĀNA, KOTṬHITA, KAPPINA, PUNNA-MANTĀNI-PUTTA, we see no such poetic gift letting itself go as is heard in the musical, sparkling cadences of Kāḷudāyin's opening :

*Angārino 'dāni dumā, bhādante,
phalesino chadanaṇ vippahāya. . . .* (527),

in the deep and solemn rapture of BHŪTA :

*yadā nabhe gajjati meghadundubhi
dhārākulā vihangapathe samantato. . . .* (522),

in the culminating roll of splendid compounds describing the Ariyan Path by MIGAJĀLA, beginning

Sudesito Cakkhumatā Buddhen' ādiccabandhunā. . . . (417),

in the swift stride, full of verve and grace, of Ekavi-hāriya's forest song :

vane kusumasañchanna pibbhare nūna sītale. . . . (545),

or in the long-drawn sighs of TĀLAPUṬA's aspirations :

kadā nu 'haṇ pabbatakandarāsu ekākiyo addutiyo vihaṣṣaṇ. . .

. . . taṇ me idaṇ taṇ nu kadā bhaviṣṣati ? (1091)

Such lines as these, and many more, simply as word-music, we may place without hesitation beside any passage of Keats and Shelley. The authors were doubtless capable of composing at least as much as did these two splendid minstrels, and it is possible that they concentrated their efforts, not on missionary or pastoral labours, but on versification. The worse luck for the world that such scanty portions should have been preserved !

Such matters Dhammapāla does not discuss. The only distinction he draws between the Theras is to classify them, in his concluding remarks, not into (A) the eleven or twelve leading Theras usually grouped in the Vinaya, and (B) the rest, viz. :

(A) Sāriputta		Cunda the Great
Moggallāna	the Great	Anuruddha
Kassapa	„ „	Revata
Kaccāna	„ „	Upāli
Koṭṭhita	„ „	Ānanda
Kappina	„ „	Rāhula,

and (B) the other 247 ; nor into the 41 *Agga-sāvaka* of the *Anguttara*,¹ and the rest ; but into Great (*mahā*) and Ordinary (*pakati*) *sāvaka*, making together the company of *Agga-sāvaka*. Of these the former (Great) were 80 in number, and he proceeds to enumerate 64 only of the 80, made up of 48 of the poet Theras, and 16 others most of whom do not occur in the Canon. ' Why are these called Great Disciples ? Because of the greatness of their Resolve (*abhinihāra*),' resulting in, it would seem, a more perfect evolution of knowledge in their last birth. Into his discourse on this point space will not allow further inquiry. But all

¹ *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 28-5. With the exception of two, Bāhiya Dārucīriya (cf. *Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 209 f.) and Sāgata, all of these distinguished followers are represented in the *Theragāthā*.

whom his list terms *Mahā-sāvaka* are printed in the list above, in capitals (p. ix f.).

We may, finally, note what the Commentary has to say concerning the monachistic proclivities of the poet-Theras, and, in particular, concerning an openly confessed love of, and admiration for, nature, strong enough in the hearts of some of these votaries of renunciation to invest their psalms with a glowing if gentle paganism, such as we have often complacently claimed as a monopoly of our modern poetry.¹ That the members of the Order were advised to cultivate the art of solitude, not only in the cell, but also and much more in the 'empty places' (*suññāgārā*) of nature, is not only confessed to in these poems but is borne out by Vinaya and Suttanta. We read of the founder betraying a predilection for solitude, and that not within walls, but away in the forest.² Herein he confesses sympathy with the elephant (*cf.* Udāyin's poem CCXLVII.) which has broken away from the herd, with the 'rhinoceros wandering alone.'³ Was it not a wrench to leave that 'happy ease here alone, unaccompanied,' to go forth and spread the daily 'net of insight' to catch men? And solitude is commended to the disciple both for the better compassing of his own consummation :—

*'If a bhikkhu should desire . . . to know and realize and win, Arahantship, emancipation of heart and mind, let him fulfil all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstasy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone ;'*⁴

¹ This opinion finds expression again in Mr. Havelock Ellis's 'The Love of Wild Nature' (*Contemp. Rev.*, February, 1909) : 'It is highly improbable that any earlier or non-Christian writer had ever broken out into such a eulogy of the desert as we find . . . in Jerome's delightful epistles.' Dr. Winternitz's book bears testimony to this feeling for nature in other branches of Indian literature beside the Buddhist (i. 7,404). But the latter strikes a more intimate note.

² *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 812 f.

³ *Sutta-Nipāta*, 'Khaggavisāna-Sutta.'

⁴ 'Akaṅkheyya-Sutta,' *Majjhima Nikāya*, translated in Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, S.B.E., xi. Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 84 f.

and also, in the intervals of his duties towards others, to restore vigour and maintain spiritual tone. There were woods and groves adjacent to most of the cities that witnessed the growth of Buddhism, although, for some of our recluses, nothing short of the deeper recesses of wild jungle sufficed.¹ But most consonant with the stronger temperaments were ever the heights:—the fells dominating the meads of Magadha above Rājgir, or the foothills of Northern Kosala (Nepal and Sikkim), beyond which towered the snowy ramparts of mysterious Himavā:—

*'te solā ramayanti maṇ.'*²

Such retreats were 'clean and pure,' 'a hiding-place from the many-folk,' and the haunt of saintly climbers³ like great KASSAPA, presences to fortify, not disturb:—

'Lone heights where saintly Rishis oft resort.'

'Is't here, is't there,' in such scenes some of the best poets of these Theras, 'become at heart like creatures of the wild' (*miḡabhūtena cetasā*), sought and found fit accompaniment to the story of their struggles and their victory.

On all this Dhammapāla's narrative touches but lightly, finding nothing morbid or exceptional about it. They 'loved the woods,' he simply remarks; 'it was to show the charm of the forest that he replied' . . . and so on. It is only with regard to the one purely pagan poem—that of SABBAKA (CXCVI.)—that his language has a touch of apology in it that is delightful:—'And because he showed herein his delight in *empty places*, this became the Thera's confession of aññā.⁴ Of pathetic interest, too, is the little

¹ Cf. CCXL. and others.

² 'They, the crags, are my delight.' See Kassapa's refrain, COLXI.

³ *Milinda*, ii. 358.

⁴ *Majjhima*, i. 450; ii. 121. It is a not infrequent conclusion to a Sutta for the Buddha to say: 'Now have I made this clear to you. Here, bhikkhus, are the roots of trees; here are *empty places*. Meditate; be earnest lest hereafter ye regret.' . . . E.g., *Majjhima*, i. 118; iii. 303.

background of legend behind Woodland-Vaccha (XIII.), lover of the woods and born there, because his mother, yearning to see them, had ventured thither on an ill-timed excursion. So fleeting as is this mother's form in the picture, it yet shows that the love of nature, if it finds no expression in the Sisters' verses, was not unknown to the heart of the Indian woman, but was part of that which lay under her silence of the centuries, only finding an outlet through her sons.

On the absence of this nature-love in the Sisters' poems I have dealt with elsewhere. Man could afford so much better to range 'alone like the rhinoceros'¹ in the wild than woman, whom for so many centuries he had driven within doors, and looked upon as a prisoner of state, or as a serf. And we can only guess that the sense of the great Mother's touch was on them, too, sometimes by a brief line here and there, reminding us, with an almost poignant pathos, as I have said, of the halting notes of a bird first let out into the woods from its cage.²

The leaning of so many of our Theras, however, to prolonged spells of monachistic life in wild, or, at least, retired places, is perhaps not a safe guide by which to judge the early Buddhist Order generally. That Order gathered into itself every variety of temperament, every grade of religious capacity. Many of them were quite unfit for various reasons to make religious progress in solitude.³ And in one of Thera SUBHŪTI's verses, not included in this collection, he summons the unfit to leave it :—

*' Infected as thou art by lust,
By ill-will and illusion's taint,
Come thou away and leave the wood !
This is the home of souls made pure,
Of stainless anchorites austere.
Defile not thou the purified ;
Come thou away and leave the wood ! '* ⁴

¹ *The Quest*, 'Love of Nature in Buddhist Poems,' April, 1910 ; e.g., *Sisters*, i. 28, 150.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. *Ang.*, iii. 145, as explained by the Commentary quoted by Edmund Hardy in vol. v. 392.

⁴ *Milinda*, ii. 315.

In fact, only the Arahant is pronounced to be really fit to dwell in such solitudes.¹ And even among the Theras themselves we find instances of unfitness for the monachistic life, both through immaturity of training and through individual temperament—MEGHIYA, for instance (LXVI.), UPĀLI (CLXXX.), and ĀNANDA (CXIX., CCLX.). In CUNDA'S stanzas, and in UPĀLI'S legend, the respective advantages of monachistic and of cenobitic life are defined ; and that Upāli's choice of the latter suited his temperament is confirmed by his record in the Vinaya. To judge by his *gāthā*, he had no distinctively poetic gift. The majority of bhikkhus, whether Theras or not, seem to have dwelt as cenobites in 'Vihāras,' and in close touch with the laity, bound with these in a mutual dependence of give and take, spiritual and material. The Buddha was often largely attended, for there came to be a constant stream of bhikkhus, waiting temporarily upon him, from all directions. When not thus engaged, they probably, if we may judge by the Ceylon of to-day, lived in very small groups in groves or on hills. The Vihāras were not the abbeys and monasteries of medieval Europe, but, for the most part, little groups of huts, fulfilling the work of rectory, *presbytère*, or house of call, where a Thera lived with a novice or two, preached to the laity, counselled them in difficulties, and taught their children.

Some temperaments, on the other hand, as we learn from *gāthā* and commentary, were less well fitted to the quiet routine of a pastor's or a social life.² And among the motives urging them to seek solitude, a poetic gift may very well have counted. And further, as is revealed by the Buddha's encouragement of VANGĪSA'S talent of versifying (CCLIV.), it is probable that a disciple thus gifted would be suffered to cultivate his talent, in the wild or elsewhere, so only he used it to compose poems of sound doctrine, whereof, as I have suggested, this anthology is only a selection that has survived. Justly has Dr. Oldenberg remarked

¹ *Anguttara* iii. 135.

² Cf. Sabbamitta (149) ; and Kondañña : *What need have I as cenobite to dwell ?*

of TĀLAPUṬA's poem (CCLXII.) : 'Feeling, such as lives in these verses, is conceivable only as the growth of a culture that has won its way through much suffering. And to give expression to it as TĀLAPUṬA has done, could only be done by a poet.'¹ That is to say, by one who has not only an imperative need of articulate self-expression, but who has also been able to devote himself, not as an amateur otherwise busy, but outright, to the cultivation of the art of verbal self-expression. Briefly stated, our monachistic Theras sought out Nature as much because they were poets and children of Nature as because they were arahants. They present a unique blend of religious maturity, primeval shyness, and æsthetic sensitiveness. And very probably, given an efficient state of organization in the Order, to such exceptionally gifted men, exceptional leisure was accorded as a necessity for their proper development, and not in any way a concession to ethical slackness, or pagan and atavistic instincts.

These considerations apply, I need hardly say, only to those of the monachistically disposed Theras whose poetic talent was fruitful. It may be said that much leisure and lonely self-communing was not required to turn out many of the short poems composing the majority of this collection. This is true. Not only is the literary gift in them very unequal, but unequal, too, is the florescence of any poetic capacity in the lives of most. Some writers of prose will confess, that at one period only of their lives 'everything seemed to run to metre' and even rhyme. Some conjuncture of notable external experience and responsive internal development, recipient and synergic, has supervened, and for a brief space the rhythm of being becomes rhythmically articulate. Such a period must have been the spiritual crisis and the consciousness of spiritual victory in these authors, impelling them to a rhythmic *udāna*, 'a breathing forth' of the tale, however brief, of their deep emotion. Possibly thereafter they relapsed into the prose of the religious life, teaching only by catechism, by protests, by the force of a blameless life.

¹ *Literatur des alten Indien*, 1910, 102.

But with respect to such brief utterances I repeat, that the Anthology before us probably no more represents the total poetic output of pre-Asokan Theras than such a collection as, say, our Golden Treasury, exhausts the verses of our own poets. This is borne out by the quite remarkable minor anthology that may be formed out of the Thera verses—all by authors represented in this book—which are quoted in Chapter VII. of the *Questions of King Milinda*, not to mention those in the *Divyāvadāna*, and which are briefly discussed in my Appendix. There is nothing in our Commentary to suggest, even in the assortment given under the last few Psalms, that the collection was considered as exhaustive.

* * * *

A volume might be written on the ideas and ideals revealed in the Theragāthā, but the poems must speak for themselves, so far as they may, in their present ill-made English garb. I have ventured to call them 'psalms,' because they indisputably satisfy the dictionary definition of psalms:—they are 'spiritual songs.' Varied, too, as in the Hebrew Anthology, is their burden. Here and there is a number that lends itself to a ritual hymn, such as METTAJI'S:¹

*'All glory to th' Exalted One,
Our splendid Lord, the Sākiyas' son!'* . . .

and others of the first Canto, or such as KUMĀRA-KASAPA'S of the second Canto:—

'All hail the Buddhas, and all hail the Norms!' . . .²

and one or two others with refrains. And who shall say that when I-Tsing heard the choric chanting of bhikkhus round stūpas in the cool of the day, it was not these Theras' psalms to which he listened, and not always those of Mātriceta's more prolific muse?³

¹ XCIV.; cf. XLVII.

² CLXI.

³ I-Tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, A.D. 671-95. Translated by J. Takakusu.

Now and again our gāthās show another link with the Hebrew Psalms—namely, when they tell of *pre-Arahant aspirations*, like SUPPIYA'S :¹

*' O would that I who hourly waste, might change
For that which ne'er decays—' . . .*

or like the ampler yearnings of TĀLAPUṬA;² or when, as in the second part of the latter's poem, in ANŪPAMA'S, or in VĪJITASENA'S verses, they record pre-Arahant wrestlings with the *chitta* :—the rational consciousness taming the impulsive consciousness, 'heart,' or 'soul'—or tell of back-sliding in the upward way, and self-recovery, such as fills much of the Hebrew Anthology, a work professedly not written by Arahants.

But for the most part—and discounting all but the poems which are, in brief or more fully, so many stories of the heart—these Psalms of the Brethren, no less than those of the Sisters, confirm both their prose legends and the introductory stanzas in bearing testimony less to present struggle and upward aspiration, than to a consciousness of absolute victory and final attainment, cessation of toil, completed introspective sanctification. Outward work on the 'many folk,' and on brethren and pupils remained; but the work on self is done :—

. . . ' now am I adept !' ³

They may describe divers spiritual conflicts of days gone⁴ by, like those of TELAKĀNI or UTTARAPALA, but when the day of days, the meridian of present Arahantship is the theme, then is their melody so far unisonal as to resemble in part that which Christians sing only after the believer's death :—

' Now the labourer's task is o'er !'

So the great KASSAPA of himself during his lifetime :—

' His task is done, and he is sane, immune.'

So ĀNANDA :—

'Gone are the chains, the barriers all behind.'

And AÑÑĀ-KONDAÑÑĀ :—

*'Sloughed off have I the dyings and the births,
Wholly accomplishing the life sublime.'*

And very many other lines might be quoted.

The 'refrains' harp on a system (*sāsana*) which is 'done,' a quest of highest good which is won, a load laid down once for all, a cessation of further life-force as imminent, and patiently awaited. That the Arahant is immune and cannot 'fall from grace' is a conviction that much of the *Kathā-Vatthu* was compiled to emphasize. He had consummated; he had his reward. And the Thera poets and their Sister poets were ranked as saints of this kind.

Yet the early Buddhist standard of saintship was apparently not one that could accurately be called lax, or vaguely conceived. It was held to be realizable under temporal conditions, but they alone could realize that supreme attainment whose evolution was matured. And as for saints in all ages, so especially for these arahants, with their outlook on life as a thing completed, an abnormal, exceptional standard of values and of satisfactions is needed. They were the religious aristocracy of their age. The Christian saint, like the Hebrew psalmist, never forgets the residual human frailty in himself, and leans perpetually on Divine sources to renew his strength :—

*'Wein und Brod des letzten Mahles
Wandelt' einst der Herr des Grales
Durch des Mitleids Liebesmacht
In das Blut das Er vergoss,
In den Leib den dar Er bracht'. . . .*

The Arahant has evolved into that fifth and ultimate order of his universe: *dhammata*, or the order (*niyama*) of the Norm (cf. verse 712); wherein holiness is the *natural* expression of his mental and moral being :—

'O see the seemly order of the Norm !'

It is a curious fact that, whereas there is perhaps nothing in which human beings vary so much as in the nature and extent of their religious needs and ideals, religion is the sphere in which we are the most determined to be democratic. Before the Most High of the creeds, all men are equal. 'All have sinned and come short,' 'all we like sheep have gone astray.' . . . But while this is true, the range of divergence in errancy and home-returning is lost sight of, and saintly possibilities get reduced to a relatively low level. We speak vaguely of saints, but all we judge a creed need cater for 'here below' is sinners.

India has judged otherwise. In its doctrine of the individual life as an immensely prolonged self-transmitting and evolving force, Buddhism saw in every individual at any given moment a phase of that evolution. During such phases the religious ideals of the individual were those of the layman, or of the average *religieux*:—moral health, the gentle teaching of the Blessed Masters, the well-kept Sabbaths, the pious vows in illness, the docile solemnity at funerals, the aspiration to dwell hereafter with the gods, and so forth. But finally, one individual among a million or so reaches that final stage of life in which his evolution is consummated. The consciousness that this is so comes to him perhaps as the quiet but wonderful awakening from a sleep in which long and fevered dreams had harassed him; or again by the impressive word of a teacher; or again by a terrible rupture of his happiness, as with Harita:—'and he enjoying his lot with her . . . his wife was bitten by a black snake and died.' And lo! the long-maturing plant bursts into flower. The humanity, which had been latently perfecting itself, void of all greed, enmity, or illusion, reaches heights of insight and power of will undreamt of before. A vision of the ideal order in the cosmos is revealed. Awake like unto the great Awakened of all time, he tastes a wonderful joy in contemplating, as with the eye of a god, the things that are and the way in which they have come to be, or he reaches out hands to guide and bless his less fortunate fellowmen. They listen as they worship

and piously aspire, then go forth to work and play, much as they who have just arisen from a dream. But for him, it is they who have gone back to dreamland; for him, with all the light of a new spiritual day about him, with a vision ineffable of what the vistas of the past have led up to for him, now only is he truly, once for all, and always, *buddho*—awake.

And so great was the zest and joy of these altered ideals and widened retrospects, so deep the peace and calm following on the complete emptying himself of the world's standard of values as the greater presences arose and filled the scene, that all questions concerning any fate awaiting him beyond this most wonderful present were blotted out. The moment of all the ages had come; beyond that time for him was not. In casting out that which insured life's renewal, he had laid low the ancient burden of that life's tale. And how could he conceive a future existence of travel elsewhither, whose boat had already grounded on the shore of the beyond? No forward view remained for him who was there already, who was *pāragū*.¹

We may call these men and women sick in a sick age. If so, it was of a fairly divine distemper, and one that does not wholly show symptoms of decadence or senility. For it attacked chiefly the young. 'Why have *you* who have suffered in nothing, left the world?' these men and women in the prime of life were asked. And the temper of these is not at all languid, weary, or disgusted with the fact that, as victorious, they yet live. Again, in depreciating the human body (as deserving to be *anything more* than a healthy instrument for spiritual life), they do not speak of it as a weary machine, running down day by day, nearly so much as of a clumsy and offensive and most unfortunately constructed complex.

Not theirs, again, because 'we walk ever near to death,'² to eat, drink and be merry. Were they to do so, that 'death who puts an end to ills,' when it is final, would

¹ Verses 766; 748, 771.

² Cf. *Ratthapāla*, p. 804.

³ Verses 278, n. 2.

be multiplied into a myriad more successive dyings. Not theirs too, the foolishness of seeking to hold, and to quarrel that they might hold; it is only they who 'never really understand that we are here but for a little spell' who quarrel.¹ Again, the distemper made the Arahant as fearless as the Christian martyr. Humans are, perhaps, on the whole braver than they were—anyway, the felt conquest of fear is a distinct feature in the Psalms, notably in the Brethren's. The Sisters barely echo this sentiment. 'No fear cometh' [in Nibbāna], says one, and another calls her Saviour 'Akuto-bhayaṃ,' 'Him who hath the No-whence [cometh] fear.'² But both sexes exult in a calm serenity and fortitude that can face hardship, suffering, and, like young ADHIMUTTA,³ death, in spite of—they would say, because of—their conviction:

*'Now is there no more coming back to be!'*⁴

Diseased then they may have been, yet did their ailment thrive with an ethics that kept their lives pure, and sweet, and steadfast and very largely occupied with pastoral and missionary effort.

*'With all am I a friend, comrade to all,
And to all creatures kind and merciful.'*⁵

*'One should exhort, one should instruct, forbid,
Hinder that which is mischievous and wrong.'*⁶

They stood for the social reforms of their day, teaching goodness, amity, the simple life, the abolition of sacrificial and other slaughter, and of the barriers of rank and

¹ Sabhiya's poem, read superficially, may seem trite. To me it was a striking echo of M. Bergson's voice at his second London lecture, 1911: '... that death of each of us, in which we do not *really* believe. Why do I say that? Because, if we *really* believed that we should each of us die, we should act so differently from what we do.' And it is no less haunting.

² *Sisters*, verses 185, 512.

³ CCXLVIII.

⁴ Silavat is teaching the quite immature when he adverts to the 'joys of heaven' (CCXLI.).

⁵ Verse 648.

⁶ Verse 994.

caste. Immunity from the microbe of arahantship is no matter for much complacency.

But to return to that most distinctive feature of all :— the absence of all joy in the forward view. I am not dogmatizing here on the unrevealed mystery of a spaceless, timeless *trans-mortality*, possibly comprised in the concept of the Arahant's destiny. Freed from the fetters of 'life,' everything not of life was possible. But nothing was thinkable, much less describable.¹ All that need here be said is that these poets are entirely and orthodoxly un-speculative. Emerson described them unawares : ' Of immortality the soul, when well employed, is incurious. It is so well that it is sure it will be well.' There are many readers of to-day ready to acquiesce in the Thera's refrain of quiet patience in awaiting the end of life's ebb-tide,² if not in SĀRIPUTTA's exultation :

*' Lo ! now my going-out complete will be.
From all am I released and utterly.'*³

OR ANURUDDHA'S :—

*' And I 'neath bamboo-thicket's shade that day
Sane and immune, shall wholly pass away.'*⁴

Their only stricture hereupon may be, that a yet more saintly Sāriputta would have aspired to yet further, even to an infinite series of rebirths, wherein he might, with ever-growing power and self-devotion, work for the furtherance of the religious evolution of his fellows.

But social and religious ideals evolve out of, yea, and even beyond the finished work and time-straitened vision of the Arahants of old. It is unreasonable to seek, in ancient ideals, the illimitable faith and hope of the democracy of

¹ The reader is referred to Dr. Oldenberg's judicious discussion of passages bearing on this point. *Buddha*, 5th ed., 813-36.

² *E.g.*, verses 606, 607.

³ Verses 1002 *f.*, 1017. See also *Revata*, 658.

⁴ Verse 919.

the spirit now abroad. If now there dawns for many the hope

*' That in a world of larger scope
What here is faithfully begun,
Shall be continued, not undone,'*

which is a neo-Christian approximation to the Indian faith in rebirth—it is not because our tradition has nursed us in the belief of an immortality of noble work. And Buddhist ideals may have been growing too. Else let them say with the Christian, in the sublime words of Elijah: ' Lord, now let me die, for I am no better than my fathers!' Let us look to it, in discerning 'motes' in the Arahant vision, that there is no 'beam' in our historical consideration of that past by which we have learnt, thus far, to see.

It remains that a note of the joy of victory in reviewing a past out of which a man or woman has fought his or her way to what is felt as 'salvation,' can claim the sympathy of the religious reader, irrespective of beliefs concerning the future. To read with sympathy is better than to depreciate the Theras' view of saintship for being the conquering of a peak, rather than a further achievement of indefinitely prolonged arrête-climbing.

It should also be noted that not all the poems, nor every theme in them is equally of the nature of a swan's song. The release from Ill, in the release from the rebirths that lead to more Ill, is, no doubt, the ground-wave of the tide of blissful emotion. But there are other themes. Now it is the sublime Teacher:—physician, deliverer, tamer, and guide, comforter in trouble, presence supremely inspiring:

' The Master hath my fealty and love,' —

who could discern the maturing conditions shining in the heart of the poor scavenger, terrified orphan, or squalid fakir, no less than in that of noble or cultured Brahmin. Nobly and worthily is his spiritual descent and glorious mission appraised:—

*' The self-same Path by which Vipassi went. . . .
Lo! now to us there cometh Gotama.*

*'For if 't' faith some Man the world's corruptions
Sweep not away, as wind the lowering clouds,
The world were shrouded wholly in thick darkness,
And e'en the brighter minds would lose their light.'*¹

Now it is the saving, missionary spirit, exhorting contemporaries, or bewailing the religious decay of posterity, that should follow the golden morning of a renescent Norm. Again, it is the happy ease attending life purified and simplified, the cool and steadfast pulse in place of the old fevered fret and longing; and greatly, as we have seen, is that joy intensified when felt through 'the calm great nights and days'² of life in the wild, and in freedom from the wearing irk and jar of the world's nightmare dream.

I have added (in the Appendix) a roughly approximate table of those matters concerning which the psalms constitute, in Thera-phrase, a 'lion's roar,' or song of victory, or of religious testimony. This may serve not only for comparison with a similar table in the companion volume of the Sisters, but also to show how far are these verses from sameness and monotony, *even when viewed apart from the particular circumstances of each singer*.³ Not all of these themes will appeal to all of us, but it is not given to man to prescribe unity for man either in Path or Goal. I can remember as a child hearing in my home divines discussing hymns. And one, a muscular parish priest, derided the hymn—

*'O Paradise! O Paradise!
'Tis weary waiting here.
I want to be where Jesus is;
To see, to feel Him near!'*

as unworthy of Christians who were zealous to work for him here and not weary in well-doing. 'But,' remarked a gentle, wistful-eyed man from Oxford, 'was there not once a tired saint who wrote of himself: "having a desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better"?'⁴

¹ Verses 490, 1268.

³ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² W. Watson.

⁴ *Philippians* i. 23.

In the Thera-hymns is a like manifold of harmonies for those who are not sunk over the ears in one tradition only. If the psalms of Arabhants suit moderns no more than they will have suited the immature layman and cleric of Asoka's days and earlier, let us not say, So much the worse for the moderns! Let the latter be willing to admit a certain aristocracy in the evolution of the religious spirit. Let it be frankly understood as not implying any morbid symptoms in the saint, or incapacity for either vision or growth in us who, from the Theras' point of view, may all be, as Edwin Arnold's line has it, 'on the upward way,' but are yet at all degrees of distance from the top. The 'many-folk' (*pathujjana*) could play with religion, put it on and doff it again. The *sāvaka* could not so compromise. When the former are now and again confronted by the dread shapes—

*'Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh :—
Disease, decay, and death, dread trinity,'¹*

they stay awhile to listen to Thera-strains. For the Thera this was no transient mood, but one that had diverted the whole current of his life, setting him apart and 'free':

*Tato cittay vinucci me !
O then my heart was set at liberty !²*

Out of joint thenceforth with the ways of those who temporized, he felt only safe and at ease precisely when conscious, or at least sub-conscious of this misfit. His is a bliss which rings for him the more truly precisely in proportion as it is not consonant with the joys of the immature.

* * * * *

To other more competent hands I leave the fascinating task of bringing these 'Varieties of Religious Experience'—unknown, alas! to W. James, as to his successors thus far in that field—into comparison with the religious self-expression of other lands and other times, as well as with other Indian literature. Just as both Dr. Winternitz recently, and Professor Ed. Müller, thirteen

¹ Verse 450.

² Cf. verse 640 *f.*, and *passim*.

years ago, have already compared Sister Subhā with SS. Lucy and Bridget (*op. cit.*, 86, 1, quoting the latter authority); just as, in the photographs before me of S. Caterina's home, a fresco shows her repeating Sumedhā's cutting off her own hair to force the hand of those who would keep her from 'going forth'; and just as Kisāgotamī may be said to have quite a little comparative literature of her own,¹ so among the Brethren might a number of interesting parallels be discovered. The present volume is but a pioneer attempt to present the poems and some of their prose in English dress, in the hope that this may facilitate worthier treatment by the more competent.

The metres which alternate nearly always between the *śloka*, and variants in *trishṭubh* and *jagatī*,² are another subject awaiting competent discussion in a field where the rules of prosody have been decided only by later forms of poetry. In the Brethren's poems, whatever be the cause, the metre is changed during the poem oftener than is the case with the Sisters. Such changes have been indicated by some corresponding change in the English metre.

The crude forms (Ānanda for Ānando, etc.) used for the names involve more difficulties than is the case with the more uniform terminations of female names; and the choice, where the crude form is, in vocative case or compound, not a hard and fast rule, will find critics, and to what extent it really matters, deservedly so.

For photographs kindly sent, and for permission to reproduce illustrations, my sincere thanks are due to J. H. Marshall, Esq., Director - General of Archæology, Simla; Mrs. Jayasundare, Galle; Rev. Ananda Metteyya, Rangoon; A. D. Imms, Esq., D.Sc.; the Clarendon Press, and Mr. Fischer, Jena, publishers of Schimper's *Piant Geography*.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

¹ Cf J. H. Thiessen's essay, *Die Legende von Kisāgotamī*, 1880, already quite a venerable work in the growing literature of Indological research.

² See verses (417), (527), (522) respectively.

PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

WITH SELECTIONS FROM THE

CHRONICLE IN DHAMMAPĀLA'S COMMENTARY,

ENTITLED

‘PARAMATTHA-DĪPAṆI’ (PART V.)

PSALMS OF THE BRETHREN

(THERA-GĀTHĀ)

Honour to the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme.

*As to the call of distant lions' roar
Resounding from the hollow of the hills,
List to the psalms of them whose selves were trained,
Telling us messages anent themselves :
How they were named, and what their kin, and how
They kept the Faith, and how they found Release.*

*Wise and unfaltering they lived their lives ;
Now here, now there they saw the Vision gleam ;
They reached, they touched the ageless, deathless Way ;
And retrospective of th' accomplished End,
They set to speech these matters of their quest.¹*

¹ These verses, writes Dhammapāla, 'were composed by the venerable Ananda, at the time of the First Council, in praise of these Theras':—a pious but unsupported tradition. 'Distant lions' is in the Pali 'toothed lions.' 'Faith' is Dhamma. 'Way' is *paṇṇa*, a word of wide import, defined in the Commentary thus: 'Nibbāna, so called from its being unmixed with conditioned things, and from the necessity of practising (or walking in) it by those who seek it.' Cf. XCII., n.

The opening simile has older precedents, notably in a stanza ascribed to the Master himself :

*But they who in the bosom of the hills
Sit with heart thoroughly purged and well-composed,
Like to so many lions crouching still,
Are vanquishers over the creeping dread,
White-minded, pure, serene and undefiled.*

Dialogues of the Buddha, ii. 285.

CANTO I

PSALMS OF SINGLE VERSES

PART I

I

Subhūti.

REBORN in the time of our Buddha at Sāvattthī, in the family of councillor Sumana, younger brother of Anāthapiṇḍika, he was named Subhūti.¹ Now on the day when the Jeta Grove, purchased by his uncle, was presented to the Exalted One, Subhūti was present, and when he heard the Norm, he found faith and left the world. Receiving ordination, he mastered the two categories (of Vinaya rules).² Thereafter a subject for exercise in meditation was given him to learn, and he went into the forest and practised it. Developing insight on the basis of love-jhāna,³ he won arahantship. And he, teaching the Norm without distinctions or limitations, became chief among the brethren who cultivated universal amity. And because, while going round for alms, he fell, at house after house,

¹ In the days of Padumuttara Buddha, æons earlier, when this Thera was said to have made the resolve that determined the rest of his existence, he was named Nanda. The Chronicle here gives a brief account of the building of the Vihāra, the great college, in Jeta's Grove, by his uncle, as told more fully in the introduction to the Jātakas. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 130.

² See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 273; iii. 2, n. 'Norm' is 'Dhamma.'

³ Rapt but ordered mentality, induced by some specified mode of self-hypnosis, and here concentrated on suffusing its objects with universal goodwill (*Bud. Psy.*, 65 ff.; *Vibhanga*, 277).

into love-jhāna, taking his alms when he emerged from reverie, this was judged to bring great reward to his almoners, and he became chief among them that were held worthy of gifts. Wherefore the Exalted One said: 'Subhūti, bhikkhus, is the chief of my bhikkhu-disciples in universal¹ amity, and chief among such as are held worthy of gifts.² . . .

So this great Brother, travelling about the land for the good of the many, came in due course to Rajagaha. King Bimbisāra heard of his coming, and went to salute him, bidding him, 'Here, your reverence, be pleased to dwell, and I will make you a dwelling-place.' But, going thence, he forgot. The Brother, receiving no shelter, meditated in the open air. And because of the Brother's dignity, the god rained not, so that the people were oppressed with the drought and raised a tumult at the door of the king's house. The king asked himself for what reason the god rained not, and judged it must be because the Brother was in the open. So he had a leaf-hut made for him, and saluted him, saying, 'Be pleased, lord, to dwell in this leaf-hut,' and so departed. The Brother entered, and seated himself cross-legged on the couch of hay. Then the rain began to drip drop by drop, not in a torrent. But the Brother, wishing to allay the people's fear of drought, declared the absence of any danger to himself from without, or from within, by uttering the verse:

Well-roofed and pleasant is my little hut,
And screened from winds—Rain at thy will,
 thou god!
My heart is well composed, my heart is free,
And ardent is my mood. Now rain, god! rain.³ (1)

¹ *Anodissaka*. See my review of Dr. A. C. Taylor's edition of the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, *JRAS*, January, 1906.

² See *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 24, where a number of brethren, sisters and the laity are formally recognized as excelling each in a specific attainment.

³ Dhammapāla states that *deva* here refers to the spirit or deity of the thunder-cloud, Pajjunna, or Parjunya—*idhāpi meghe Pajjunne sā*

*Thus verily did the venerable Brother Subhūti utter his Psalm.*¹

And the verse was his confession of Aññā.

II

Koṭṭhita the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age² at Sāvattthī, in a very wealthy clan of brahmins, he was named Koṭṭhita.³ When he was come of age he had learned the three Vedas, and perfected himself in the accomplishments of a brahmin. He heard the Master preach the Norm, found faith, and entered the Order. Practising insight from the day of his ordination he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the form and meaning of the Norm.⁴ As proficient

daṭṭhabbo. Sutta-Nipāta, verse 18; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, 167 ff.; *Buddhist India*, 386. Cf. LI.-LIV., CLV.

The Commentary leaves the option of seeing in 'hut' a metaphor for the body. This being in good training through discipline, the 'heart' no less so through jhāna, and insight, through knowledge, the verse gives in miniature the end of the threefold *sikkhā* (training). See my *Buddhism*, chap. viii.; cf. below, LVII., etc.

¹ This affirmation is canonical matter, doubtless by the editors. The following sentence is the Commentator's. 'Aññā' means gnosis or intuitive enlightenment, constituting the guarantee of Arahantship. *Majjhima*, i. 479; *Saṃyutta*, ii. 221.

We meet with Thera Subhūti elsewhere only in *Uḍāna*, vi. 7, where the Buddha commends his proficiency in meditation, and in *Questions of King Milinda*, ii. 315, 323, where his verses (not found elsewhere) are quoted. See Appendix (below).

² *Imaṃsiy Buddhupphāde*. Lit., not 'age,' but arising, advent. The period, however, includes the whole, i.e., the last life, of the great teacher; hence only 'age' seemed to fit. The phrase alternates with *kūlo*, *samayo*, 'time.'

³ Pronounced Kott'hita. The name is also recorded as Koṭṭhika and Koṭika. The Thera is evidently the one included among the 'Great Elders' in Vinaya and Suttanta, the interlocutor in several Suttas—e.g., *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 292; *Saṃyutta Nik.*, ii. 112; *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24, etc. See *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 112, 317; iii. 359.

⁴ On this technical phrase, see *Sisters*, p. 17, n. 1.

herein he used to question the great Theras and Him-of-the-Ten-Powers¹ about them. Hence it came that he was held chief of those who were thus proficient. Then the Master, having shown his attainments in the Vedalla-Sutta, ranked him chief of those who were proficient in insight.²

He, on a later occasion, conscious of the bliss of emancipation, broke forth in this verse :

Whoso, serene and calm, dead to the world,
Can utter wisdom's runes,³ with wit unswelled,
Unruffled—he doth shake off naughty things
As they were forest leaves by 'wind-god⁴ blown. (2)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Mahā-Koṭṭhita utter his psalm.

III

Kankhā-Revata.

(Revata the Doubter.)

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One in a wealthy family of Sāvattthī. And as he stood in the outermost ring of those who went after dinner to hear Him-of-the-Ten-Powers preach, he believed, and thereupon entered the Order. And he attained arahantship by way of practising jhāna ; and so proficient in jhāna did he become, that the Master pronounced him chief of the bhikkhus who practised it.⁵

¹ A title of the Buddha, frequent in scholastic works. It was at first applied equally to Arahants. Cf. *Ang.*, ii. 68 ; *Saṅg.*, ii. 28. The powers are enumerated in *Majjh.*, i. 69-71.

² *Ang.*, i. 28 ; *Majjh.*, i. 202.

³ *Manta* or *mantras*, an allusion to his brahmin or Vedic training. The next two phrases are a rendering of the one word *anuddhato*, which the Commentary connects with *uddhacca*, excitement.

⁴ *Māluta*, wind, may possibly have ceased to suggest the Vedic Māruts, or wind-gods, at this date. Cf. *Sisters*, p. 150.

⁵ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 24.

His task accomplished thus, this great Brother reflected on the inveterate tendency of his mind to doubt,¹ now wholly overcome, and praised the might and wisdom of the Exalted One, whereby his mind was now calm and steadfast, saying:

Behold how great the wisdom is of Them
Who Thus-have-come!² As fire at midnight hour,
Givers of light, givers of sight are they
To those that pass, subduing all their doubt. (3)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Kankhā-Revata utter his psalm.

IV

Puṇṇa of the Mantānis.

He was reborn in the days of our Exalted One, in an eminent brahmin clan, at the brahmin village of Donavatthu, not far from Kapilavatthu. He was sister's son of the Elder Kondaṇṇa,³ and was named Puṇṇa. And after performing all the duties of his novitiate, he put forth every effort till he had accomplished the highest duties of a recluse. He thereupon went with his uncle to dwell near the Master, leaving the neighbourhood of Kapilavatthu. And thoroughly intent in practice, he not long after became an arahant.

Now Puṇṇa came to have a following of 500 clansmen who had also left the world. And because he himself had

¹ This tendency is mentioned in the *Apadāna*. The soubriquet it earned may have been maintained undeservedly to distinguish Revātā from the more distinguished Mahā-Thera Revata, co-Director of the Council of Vesālī (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 817; cf. 67).

² *Tathāgata*. For a full exposition of this famous term, the Comy. refers to the *Udāna* and *Iti-Vuttaka* Commentaries. Cf. J. H. Moore, *Sayings of Buddha*, p. 181; Sir R. Chalmers, *JRAS*, 1898, 108.

³ See Ps. CXXLVI. His full name distinguishes him from the Puṇṇa of LXX.

acquired the ten bases of discourse,¹ he taught his followers therein till they, too, became experts and arahants. They thereupon desired him to take them to the Master. But he, judging it unfitting to go surrounded by them, bade them go on, and promised to follow them. They, being all fellow-countrymen of Him-of-the-Ten-Powers, walked the sixty yojanas to Rājagaha, and, in the great Vihāra of the Bamboo Grove,² found him and did obeisance to him. Now, when bhikkhus come to Buddhas, the Exalted Ones, it is customary for friendly greetings to be exchanged. Wherefore the Exalted One asked them: 'I hope, brethren, that you are well and have pleasantly rested. Whence come ye?' 'From your own country, lord,' they replied. 'Then he asked if there were a bhikkhu who knew the Ten Subjects, saying: 'Who, brethren, of such fellow-countrymen of mine is capable, himself a simple liver, to discourse on the simple life?' 'Puṇṇa, lord, the venerable son of the Mantānis.'

And when the Master went from Rājagaha to Sāvattthī. Puṇṇa went thither and, in the Fragrant Chamber,³ was taught the Norm. And Sāriputta, desiring to meet him, went after him to Dark Wood, whither he had gone to meditate on the Master's words, and found him resting beneath a tree. And they discoursed of those words, and had joy of each other, Puṇṇa winning his heart by the parable of the posting by chariot.

Now the Master proclaimed Puṇṇa chief among the bhikkhus in preaching the Norm.⁴ And he one day, reflecting near the Master on the emancipation he had won,

¹ The ten Kathāvatthus, according to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, are Simple Living, Content, Detachment, Segregation, Endeavour, Morality, Concentration, Understanding, Emancipation, Knowledge with Insight.

² See *Sisters*, p. 81.

³ The Buddha's own cell at the Jetavana. See *Sisters*, p. 11; *JRĀS*, 19.

⁴ *Ang.*, i. 28. The interview with Sāriputta, after the bhikkhus' testimonial, is told in *Majjhima* ('Rathavinīta Sutta'), i. 146 ff. Further testifying to his teaching and influence occurs in *Saṃy.*, ii. 156; iii. 105 f.

bethought him: ' Verily to me and many others, delivered from the round of sorrow, how great a help is communion with good men !' And with joy and enthusiasm he uttered this verse:

Aye with the good consort, with them
 Who know, who understand, who see the Good.¹
 Great is the Good and deep and hard to see,
 Subtle and delicately fine, to which
 The wise and brave do penetrate, e'en they
 Who strenuous live and lofty vision gain. (4)

Thus verily did the venerable Puṇṇa of the Mantānis utter his psalm.

And the Brother explained that the psalm contained his affirmation of aṇṇā.

Dabba.²

(Of the Mallas.)

He came to birth in the family of a clansman of the Mallas,³ at Anupiyā. As a child of seven, he saw the Master when the latter visited his country and home, and was so attracted that he asked his grandmother, his mother having died at his birth,⁴ if he might leave the world under the Master. She brought him to the Master, who bade a bhikkhu ordain him. And the boy, being one in whom past causes and an aspiration were taking effect, realized the Four Paths in succession, in the very act of having his curls cut off.

¹ *Attha*, the subject discussed with Sāriputta.

² Cf. below, verse 1218. On this eminent Brother, see also *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 4-18; *Jātaka*, l. 21; *Udāna*, viii. 9; *Ang. Nik.*, 28.

³ Lit., of a raja of the Mallas, a confederation of independent clans, located by the two great Chinese pilgrim chroniclers on the mountain slopes eastward of the Buddha's own clan.

⁴ Before his birth, according to the Commentarial tradition.

And when the Master left the Mallas' country for Rājagaha, Dabba, meditating alone, and desirous of devoting his body to the service of the Order, considered that he might both apportion night's lodging and direct to meals. The Master sanctioned his doing so, and his success herein, and his supernormal power herein, lighting the brethren to their lodgings with his shining finger, is told in the Pali narrative.¹

But it was after the baseless calumny,² wherewith the bhikkhus who followed Mettiya and Bhummajaka sought to ruin him, had been condemned by the Order, that the Brother, conscious of his virtuous compassion for others, uttered this verse :

Once hard to tame, by taming tamed is now
Dabba, from doubts released, content, serene.
Victor is Dabba now, and void of fears ;
Perfected³ he and staunch in steadfastness. (5)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Dabba utter his psalm.

VI

Sīta-Vaniya.

This is the psalm of the venerable Brother Sambhūta. He was reborn at Rājagaha as the son of an eminent

¹ *Vatthu-pāliyaṇ*—viz., in Khandaka IV. See *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 4 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 10-18.

³ *Parinibbuto*. On this Dhammapāla comments: 'There are two *parinibbānas*—the *parinibbāna* of evils (*kilesā*, the "ten torments." or "bases of corruption"; see my *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, p. 827 ff.), which is the element of Nibbāna, wherewith is yet remaining stuff of life; and *parinibbāna* of *khandhas* (factors of personality), which is the element of Nibbāna without that remainder. Here the former species is meant, inasmuch as there had been an entire putting away by the Path of everything that should be put away.' Cf. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 168; my *Buddhism*, p. 191.

brahmin, and named Sambhūta.¹ With his three friends, Bhūmija, Jeyyasena and Abhirādana, he heard the Exalted One preach the Norm, and left the world to enter the Order. While practising the systematic meditation of 'mindfulness respecting the body,' he stayed continually in Sita-Vana (Cool Wood), and thus became known as Sita-Vaniya (Cool Woodlander).

And seeing bhikkhus passing by on their way to see the Exalted One, he said: 'Friends, worship the Exalted One for me with speech of mine, and say to him thus' (showing the Master his uninterrupted concern with the Norm):

There is a brother who to Cool Wood gone doth dwell
Alone, content, in meditative ecstasy,
Victorious, no more by creeping dread dismayed,
He mindful watcheth over sense with courage high. (6)

Thus verily did the venerable Brother Sitaraniya utter his psalm.

VII

Bhalliya.

He, with his elder brother Tapussa,² was born in the time of our Exalted One, in the city of Pokkharavatī, as the son of a caravan-driver. As they were conducting a caravan of carts in a pleasant glade, a muddy place checked their progress. Then a tree-fairy, one of their own kin, showed himself, and said: 'Sirs, the Exalted One hath just attained enlightenment, and for seven weeks abideth fasting in the bliss of emancipation, seated at the root of the King's

¹ This cannot be the Sambhūta of CXCI., verse 9. Of the friends, we meet (probably) only with Bhūmija in *Saṅg.*, ii. 39.

² In the Commentarial tradition, they were brothers in like circumstances, when Kassapa Buddha lived, and rendered like service then to Kassapa, entreating that they might repeat it in a future life.

Stead tree.¹ Serve him with food; this will long make for your good and happiness.' They, with joyful eagerness, waited not to prepare food, but took rice-cakes and honey, and, leaving the high road, ministered to the Exalted One.

Now when the Exalted One had set rolling the wheel of the Norm at Benares,² he stayed in due course at Rājagaha. There Tapussa and Bhalliya waited on him and heard him teach. The former became a lay-follower, the latter left the world and mastered the six forms of abhiññā.³

One day when Māra⁴ appeared to the Brother in fearsome terrifying shape, Bhalliya, manifesting how he had passed beyond all fear, uttered a psalm to Māra's discomfiture:

Whoso hath chased away the Death-king and his host,
E'en as a mighty flood the causeway of frail reeds,
Victor is he, self-tamed. Fear cometh never more.
His is the Goal supreme, and utter steadfastness. (7)

*Thus verily did the venerable Bhalliya utter his psalm.*⁵

VIII

Vīra.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in the family of a minister to King Pasenadi, he was named Vīra.⁶ And when, as befitted his name, he had acquired athletic accomplishments, he became a warrior. Marrying with his parents' consent, a son was born to him. Thereupon,

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, p. 5. This story occurs in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 81, and in the 'Nidāna-Kathā,' *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 110, Bhalliya being there Bhallika and Bhalluka. *Ika* and *iya* are interchangeable adjectival terminations.

² His first sermon, etc.

³ Supernormal thought. Cf. p. 32, n. 1.

⁴ Professor Windisch holds there may have been a collection of such Māra or Devil legends (*Māra und Buddha*, 134).

⁵ Henceforth this *obiter dictum* ceases.

⁶ Heroic, strong. Pāse'nādī was King of Kosala, of the same age as the Buddha (*Majjh. Nik.*, ii. 124).

seeing the trouble in the perpetuation of life,¹ he left the world in anguish, and putting forth every effort soon acquired sixfold abhiññā. Now when, as arahant, he was living in the bliss of fruition, his former wife tried to lure him back in various ways. But the venerable Vira said : ' This woman, desiring to seduce me, is like one wishing to shake Mount Sineru² with the wing of a gnat.' And he showed her how futile it was by his psalm :

Once hard to tame, by taming now is tamed
Vira, from doubts released, content, serene ;
Victor is Vira, free from creeping dread ;
His is the goal supreme, and steadfast strength.(8)

The woman, hearing him, was deeply moved, and thought : ' My husband has won to this—what good is domestic life to me ?' And she went forth among the Sisters, and soon acquired the Three-fold Lore.³

IX

Pilinda-Vaccha.

Reborn at Sāvattthī as a brahmin's son, before the Exalted One became a Buddha, they named him Pilinda, Vaccha being the name of his clan. He became a recluse, and acquired the charm called the Lesser Gandhāra,⁴ deriving therefrom great renown. But when our Exalted One became Buddha the charm ceased to work. He having learnt that the Greater Gandhāra spell stopped the Less,

¹ Lit., in Saṃsāra, ' continual going on.' Cf. XCIX.

² See *Sisters*, verse 884. Pronounced Sīne'ru.

³ Cf. p. 29, n. 1. This triple acquisition forms three of the six forms of abhiññā, or supernormal thought, p. 32, n. 1.

⁴ On the Gandhāra Vijjā, or charm—not, as here, distinguished as twofold—see *Dialogues*, i. 278. Cf. *Jat.*, iv. 498 f. The charm is here said to confer the power both of going through the air and of thought-reading. The identity of this Thera with the Pilinda-Vaccha of Rājagaha (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 61). is doubtful : yet cf. next p., n. 2.

concluded that Gotama the recluse knew the former, and he waited on him in the hope of acquiring it, asking if the chance might be granted him. The Exalted One answered : ' You must leave the world.' He, fancying that this was a preparation for the charm,¹ did so. To him the Exalted One taught the Norm, and gave him exercise in meditation, so that he, the conditions being ripe, attained arahantship.

Now one who, in consequence of Pilinda's guidance in a former birth, had gone to heaven as a deva, waited on him morning and evening out of gratitude. Hence the Brother was distinguished as one dear to the gods, and was ranked chief among the brethren who were such by the Exalted One.²

And Pilinda one day, sitting among the brethren, and reflecting on his success, declared to them how the charm had brought him to the Exalted One uttering this psalm :

O welcome this that came, nor came amiss !
 O goodly was the counsel given to me !
 'Mong divers doctrines mooted among men
 Of all 'twas sure the Best I sought and found. (9)

X

4

Pupphamāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Samiddhi, a brahmin of Sāvattī, he left the world when a son was born to him, and entering the Order under the Exalted One, took the Four Truths as his exercise in meditation, and became an arahant. His former wife sought to seduce him from his faith, visiting him adorned, and with her

¹ This fresh renunciation (*pabbajjā*) must have meant entering the Order, although this is not stated. Contrast with Pilinda's mistaken view, *Dialogues*, i. 278, and iii., XXIV., § 4. Cf. Vangīsa, CCLXIV.

² *Ang.* i. 24, the Cv. on which quotes *Udāna*, iii. 6.

child. But the Brother, showing his utter detachment, uttered this psalm :

All longings as to this or other life
 Have I put far from me, as one who hath
 Beten himself to truth, whose heart's at peace,
 Who, self-subdued, in all things undefiled,
 Discerns the world's incessant ebb and flow. (10)

Then the woman thinking, 'This holy man cares not for me nor for the child; I am not able to persuade him,' went away.¹

PART II

XI

Gavaccha the Less.

REBORN as a brahmin at Kosambī, and hearing the Exalted One preach, he entered the Order. At that time the bhikkhus of Kosambī had become contentious.² Then Gavaccha the Less, not taking part with either side, remained steadfast in the Exalted One's admonition, and developing insight, attained to arahantship. And seeing in the bhikkhus' quarrelsome tastes what might have been the downfall of his own good, he reflected with joy and enthusiasm on his own contrasted state, saying :

Abundantly this brother doth rejoice,
 For the blest truths the Buddha hath revealed
 Are his, and he hath won the Path of Peace,
 And his the bliss where worldly cares are stilled. (11)

¹ A curious feature about this story is the repetition of it, again as Puṇṇamāsa's, in Canto II., the Commentator taking no notice of the substantial identity in legend and authorship. See Ps. CXLVI.

² They seem to have been incorrigibly so, in spite of the Buddha's earnest and repeated exhortations (*Majjh.*, i. 820 ff., 518).

XII

Gavaccha the Great.

He was reborn in this Buddha's days as the son of Samiddhi, a brahmin of the village of Nālaka in Magāḍha. And he entered the Order because Sāriputta¹ had done so, and he knew that Sāriputta was very wise. After he had attained arahantship, and was enjoying the bliss of emancipation, he uttered his psalm to encourage his fellow-disciples to make efforts :

In wisdom strong, guided by virtue's rule, intent,
To concentration's rapture given, yet vigilant ;
Partaking of such fare as brings thee only good :
So in the faith,² with passions quenched, await the
hour. (12)

XIII

Vanavaccha.

In this Buddha-age he took rebirth at Kapilavatthu, in the brahmin clan of the Vaccha's. He was born in the forest, his mother being taken with travail while walking in the forest which she had yearned to see. He became one of the future Buddha's playmates in the sand. And because he loved the woods, he was known as Woodland-Vaccha.³ Later on, when he had entered the Order, it

¹ His fellow-townsmen. See CCLIX. ; *Sisters*, p. 96.

² *Idha* ; lit., 'here,' 'here below,' is technically used as above, and is so interpreted.

³ As if the legend strove to link him closer to nature, the only two of his former lives mentioned in detail represent him as a tortoise or turtle, and as a dove. The stanza recurs, with others in a similar vein, in Kassapa's poem (CCXLIV.). Again, as with the two Puṇṇamāsa psalms, the Commentator takes no heed of the identity of name, nor of the substantial identity in story and verse. The verse is incorporated in the long poem (CCLXI.).

was in the forest that he strove for and won arahantship. And it was in praise of the forest life that he uttered his psalm, replying to the brethren who asked him: 'What comfort can you get in the forest?' 'Delightful, my friends, are forest and mountain!'

Craggs with the hue of heaven's blue clouds,
Where lies enbosomed many a shining tarn
Of crystal-clear, cool waters, and whose slopes
The 'herds of Indra'¹ cover and bedeck:
Those are the braes wherein my soul delights. (13)

XIV

Sīvaka.

(A Novice attending Brother Vanavaccha.)

In this Buddha-era he was born as the son of Vanavaccha's sister. When his mother heard that her eldest brother Vanavaccha had left the world, had graduated in the Order, and was dwelling in the forest, she said to her son: 'Dear Sīvaka, you should leave the world under the Elder, and wait on him; the Elder is getting old now.' He, at this sole bidding of his mother, and because of his previous aspirations, did so and, ministering to his uncle, dwelt in the forest. One day, when he had gone to the outskirts of the village on some

¹ *Indagopaka-sañchannā*, 'covered by Indra's cowherds.' According to the Commentary (cf. Childers, 'a crimson beetle noticeable after rain'), these are coral-red insects (*kimī*), alluded to in connexion with recent rain, but said by some to be a red grass, or by others the *kaṇikāra* trees (*Pterospermum acerifolium*). To come into a highland or upland picture, these crimson insects must swarm in vast numbers. The cows of Indra—i.e., the clouds—would have filled the background far more easily. The Russians, however, Sir Charles Eliot informs me, call lady-birds 'God's little cows' (*boshya korovka*); and on upper Alpine pastures in late summer I have seen crimson (? Burnet) moths crowded on the heath. On the colour; cf. *Vin.*, iii. 42.

errand, he fell very ill. And when medicine did not cure him and he came not, the Elder, wondering at the reason, went and found him ill. Administering remedies and tending him the Elder, when dawn was nigh, said : ' Sīvaka, since the time when I left the world, I have not sojourned in the village. Let us go hence into the forest.' Sīvaka answered : ' Sir, even if my body stay now by the village, my heart is in the forest, wherefore though I lie here yet shall I go thither.' Then the Elder took hold of his arm, and led him to the forest exhorting him. He, made steadfast by that admonition, won arahantship.

Thereafter he uttered his psalm, combining his master's words and his own, expressing both his love of seclusion and his achievement, his obedience to his master and the winning of aññā :

The teacher spake me thus : ' Sivaka, hence
Let's go!'¹ Here in the town my body dwells ;
My thoughts are to the forest gone. So thus,
Prostrated though I be, yet do I go.
No bond is there for those who understand. (14)

XV

Kuṇḍa-Dhāna.²

In the age of our Exalted One, he was reborn at Sāvattthī as a brahmin's child, and called Dhāna.³ Knowing the

¹ The text *gacchāmi*, 'I go,' is in the Commentary *gacchāma*, 'let us go.' The latter accords with the story, and with Vanavaccha's active care for his pupil, and the latter's devotion. The Commentary compares the youth's swift response to that of a spirited horse touched by the whip. A spirited horse is called *bhadro*, which = also auspicious, or lucky (*Sīvaka*. Cf. *Siva*).

² In the Comy. Koṇḍa- Koṇṭha- Kuḍḍa- Kuṇḍa-dhāna. He is mentioned in *Majjh.*, i. 462 ; *Udāna*, ii. 8 ; *Dhammapada Comy.*, iii. 52-58

³ The Comy. deals at some length with the legend of this Brother's antecedents, the immediate object of which is to explain how Dhāna

three Vedas by heart, he when advanced in years heard the Master preach, and left the world. Now King Pasenadi of Kosala became interested in him and provided him with necessities, so that he had not to go round for alms. But it was when the great Subhaddā invited the Master and his company to dine with her, that Kuṇḍa-Dhāna revealed his powers and attainments, as it is written in the Commentary on the Anguttara-Nikāya.¹ And it was to the brethren that he recited this verse:

Five cut thou off; Five leave behind, and Five beyond
all cultivate!

He who the Fivefold Bond² transcends—a Brother
Flood-crossed is he called. (15)

won the nickname of Kuṇḍa or Koṇḍa, a word which by the context would seem to mean 'gallant.' In a previous birth he appears as the victim of a fairy's practical joke, and the blame he attaches to an innocent fellow-monk in consequence is a karma, which pursues him in this life, causing him mortification. As the legend throws no light on the verse, it is not given here, nor is the account of his prior rank in receiving food-tickets (see *Ang.*, i. 24), and for the same reason. The verse might, in fact, have been spoken by any learned Thera (cf. CCXLII., verse 688). Subhaddā is presumably the daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika, living at Sāketa (*Milinda*, ii. 308). The way to her (from Sāvattthī) is described as being far; in *Majjh.*, i. 149, as seven express coaching stages.

¹ I.e., on the Etad-agga-Vagga (*Ang.*, i. 28 f.), wherein the Thera's success is recorded. It is noticeable that, in citing this Commentary, Dhammapāla does not quote it as Buddhaghosa's *Manorathapūraṇī*.

² According to the Commentary, the first of these four pentads is the group of the five lower Fetters (*Bud. Psy.*, §§ 1118-1184; Rhys Davids, *American Lectures*, p. 141 ff.). The second pentad is the remaining five Fetters, the liberation from the ten involving deliverance from rebirth. The third refers to the five moral powers or faculties (*Bud. Psy.*, §§ 805-811), and the fourth to the bonds of passion, hate, stupidity, pride, and opinion (*Vibhanga*, p. 877). The verse occurs in *Dhammapada*, v. 870, and *Saṃyutta Nik.*, i. 8, and below, 688, where this comment is repeated. The verse is a good example of the kind of holy riddle in which these Elders (like others nearer home) took special delight. (Cf. LXIV.)

XVI

Belaṭṭhasīsa.

In this Buddha-age he was reborn at Sāvattthī in a brahmin's family, and before the Exalted One became a Buddha he left the world to join the ascetic Order of Kassapa of Uruvelā, and tend the sacred fire. And when Kassapa was tamed by the Buddha,¹ he was one of the thousand ascetics who obtained arahantship on hearing the sermon on Burning.²

He thereafter became the tutor of the 'Treasurer of the Norm.'³ And one day, reflecting on the pure bliss of fruition and his own earlier discipline, in rapture he uttered a psalm :

E'en as the high-bred steer⁴ with crested back⁵
 Lightly the plough adown the furrow turns,
 So lightly glide for me the nights and days
 Now that this pure untainted bliss is won. (16)

XVII

Dasaka.

He, by his karma, was reborn in the age of our Exalted One at Sāvattthī, as the child of a slave of Anāthapiṇḍika,

¹ See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 118-184.

² *Ibid.*, p. 184 f.

³ A soubriquet of the Elder Ānanda. Belaṭṭhasīsa is also mentioned as a sufferer from eczema (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 48, 226), and as committing a minor offence in storing food (*Vin.*, iv. 86). The Commentarial tradition is that *Dhammapada* verse 92 refers to the last-named incident (*Dhp. Com.*, ii. 170).

⁴ The text *bhaddo ājaṇṇo*, 'noble, or spirited thoroughbred,' is declared by the Commentary to imply, out of the three creatures to which this epithet is applied—bull, horse, elephant—the first named, as the only one used for ploughing.

⁵ *Śikhī*, 'crested,' is applicable to either the horns or the hump of the zebu (Commentary).

and was by him appointed as gate-porter of the Vihāra.¹ Hearing of his virtuous conduct and his wishes, his master made him a freed man, and said, how happy it was to leave the life of the world. He was ordained accordingly ; but from that time he grew slothful and slack of effort, taking no steps to roll back the round of rebirth, and sleeping much after meals. At sermon-time he would get into a corner on the outskirts of the congregation, and sit snoring. Now the Exalted One, contemplating his antecedents, spoke the following verse to him in order to stir up agitation :

Who waxes slothful and in diet gross,
Given to sleep and rolling as he lies,
Like a great hog with provender replete—
The dolt comes back again, again to birth. (17)

Hearing this, Dasaka grew agitated and, developing insight, not long after realized arahantship. Thereafter he thought 'the verse of the Exalted One became as a goad to me,' and he repeated the verse. Thus, though uttered as a protest concerning food, it became the declaration of his aññā.

XVIII

Singāla-Pitar.²

Reborn in this Buddha-age of wealthy parents at Sāvattthī, he married and named his son Singāla(ka), himself becoming known as Singāla's father. At a later time he threw off domestic ties, and left the world for the Order. The Exalted One, contemplating his inclinations, gave him the meditative exercise of the idea of a skeleton. Taking it he dwelt among the Sākiyans at Sunsumāragira, in the

¹ Of the Jetavana. See *Sisters* for an illustration of the ruins of this famous institution, built by Anāthapiṇḍika. Dasaka = Decimus.

² In the Commentary Singālaka-pitā. The name means 'jackal.'

Bhesakalā Wood.¹ Now in that wood a woodland sprite, judging that the Thera would soon grasp the fruition he laboured after, uttered this verse :

Lo ! in the forest of Bhesakalā
A brother dwells, heir of the Buddha's grace,
Suffusing through and through this earthy frame
With thought intent, austere, of skeleton.²
Beshrew me, if he do not swiftly drive
All passion of the senses clean away ! (18)

Hearing that verse the brother thought 'this fairy said this to me to call forth effort,' and willing unfaltering endeavour, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter he recalled the fairy's words, and breathed forth that very verse as the confession of his aññā.

¹ This town (see Windisch, *Māra u. Buddha*, p. 150) and wood have hitherto been found in association, not with the Sākiyans, but with the Bhaggas (*JPTS*, 1888, pp. 63, 98). Either, therefore, there was more than one wood of this name, or the Bhaggas, whose locality seems doubtful, were a section of the Sākiyas. Cf. ver. 1208.

² *Kevalay atthisaññāya aphari pathaviṇ imay*. Dr. Neumann sees in this line an allusion to the passage in *Sany. Nik.*, ii. 178 ff., and referred to by Sumedhā (*Sisters*, p. 178) :

'And bear in mind that tumulus of bones
By creatures piled who wander through the world.
Remember the great cairn of one man's bones
From one æon alone, equal to Vipula.'

Dhammapāla, on the other hand, ignores any such allusion and interprets the line as referring to the mode of *arubha-saññā*, or the *kaṣiṇa* called 'meditative exercise of bones' (*atthika - bhāvanā*). *Pathavī*, usually applied to the extended world, he explains as *attabhāva-pathavī*, that extended or earthy attribute of the individual called, in the Nikāyas, *ajjhattika-pathavidhātu* (personal extended element). That it is never called simply *pathavī* (the extended, or earth) may incline the critic to dissent from the Commentarial tradition. And yet why should the latter have let slip this good exegetical opportunity, had the mountain of bones been indeed implied ? 'Having by the "bones-notion" wholly suffused his own or all beings' organism with the thought " 'Tis bone ! " and making that the basis of jhāna, he will put away all sensuous passion by the Non-Returner's Path . . .' so runs the Commentary.

XIX

Kulā.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī of a brahmin family, he entered the Order, but from want of mental balance could not concentrate on a given idea.¹ Now one day going to the town for alms, he saw men conducting running water wherever they wished by digging channels. Within the town he marked out of the corner of his eye² how the fletcher fixed the arrow-shaft in his lathe, and leaving with full bowl he saw the chariot-makers planing axle and tire and hub. So entering the Vihāra he dined; then during siesta he pondered on these three modes of taming things, making them his goad, and applying them to his own need of self-mastery. So striving he not long after won arahantship. And connecting those object-lessons with his own heart's taming, he confessed aññā in this verse :

The conduit-makers lead the stream,
 Fletchers coerce the arrow-shaft,
 The joiners mould the wooden plank;
 The self—'tis that the pious tame.³ (19)

¹ *Visesay nibbattetuy*. Cf. Childers, s.r. *Viseso*.

² See *Vin. Texts*, i. 59: 'With downcast eye.' Practically directed on to the ground about a plough's length in front of him (Commentary).

³ This verse recurs in CCLIV., and occurs twice in the *Dhammapada*, being assigned, in the Commentary on that work, to one Paṇḍita-sāmaṇera at verse 80, and to Sukha-sāmaṇera at verse 145. Both are of Sāvattthī also, and both are described as making object-lessons of human skill over matter in the crafts alluded to. But in the former instance the story is much expanded.

XX

Ajita.

He was reborn, when our Master was living, at Sāvattthī, as the son of the brahmin who was price-assessor¹ to the king of Kosala. He became an ascetic as follower of Bāvarī, the learned brahmin, who dwelt in the Kapiṭṭha park on the banks of the Godhāvarī. Now Bāvarī² sent him, together with Tissa and Metteyya, to the Master. And Ajita was so satisfied with the Master's answers to his questions, that he entered the Order. Choosing a form of mental exercise he developed insight, and attained arahantship. Thereupon he uttered his song of victory³ in this verse :

All unafraid of death, nor fain to live,
I shall lay down this compound frame anon,⁴
With mind alert, with consciousness controlled. (20)

¹ In the *Jātaka* it appears that the purchase of goods by or for a king was effected by an officially regulated price. This was fixed without appeal by the court assessor or valuer, who stood between the two fires of offending the king if he valued the goods submitted too high, and of driving away tradesmen if he refused bribes and cheapened wares. See my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India,' *JRAS*, October, 1901.

² This episode forms part of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 976-1089 (*SBE*, x. 184 ff.).

³ His 'lion's roar' (*sīhanāda*).

⁴ Cf. *Saṃyutta*, iii. 25.

PART III

XXI

Nigrodha.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn in an eminent brahmin's family at Sāvattī. And on the day when Jeta Grove was presented, he saw the majesty of the Buddha and was satisfied, so that he entered the Order. When he had stirred up insight, he soon became able to exercise the six forms of supernormal thought. And pondering, in the bliss of fruition, on the advantages of the doctrine which leads us away from rebirth, he uttered this verse as the expression of aññā :

No fear have I of fearsome things, for He,
Our Master, knoweth well th' ambrosial lore.¹
The Path where fear nowise a footing finds,
Along that Path the brethren hold their way. (21)

XXII

Cittaka.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a brahmin of great possessions. And when the Master was staying in the Bamboo Grove, Cittaka² went to hear him, and found faith and so entered the Order. Choosing ethical conduct as his exercise, he entered a wooded spot, and there in devotional practice induced jhāna. Thereby developing insight he soon attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to salute the Master. Asked by the brethren,

¹ Lit., 'skilled, learned in ambrosia,' *amdtā*, the most frequent synonym for Nibbāna. The Path is the Ariyan Eightfold Path (Commentary).

² Pronounced Chittāka. Sister Cittā was also of Rājagaha (*Sisters*, p. 27).

‘Have you been strenuous, friend, in your forest sojourn?’ he uttered his psalm, to show he had been so, and to declare aññā :

Peacocks of sapphire neck and comely crest
 Calling, calling in Kāraṇviya woods ;¹
 By cool and humid winds made musical :²
 They wake the thinker from his noonday sleep. (22)

XXIII

Gosāla.

He was born in this Buddha-age in a wealthy Magadhese family. He came to know Soṇa-Kutikaṇṇa,³ and when he heard that the latter had left the world, he grew agitated, and thought : ‘If he who has so great an estate shall leave the world, why not rather I?’ And entering the Order, he took for exercise the subject of ethical conduct,⁴ and seeking a suitable haunt, dwelt on the uplands not far from his native village. Now one day his mother, who daily dispensed alms, gave him, on his round, rice-porridge prepared with honey and sugar. This he took and ate in the shade of that hill under a bamboo thicket. With bowl and hands washed, and refreshed by the appropriate fare offered him, he put forth insight without toil and, with mind intent on

¹ The Commentary, reading Karambhiya, states this word is the name of a species of tree, and possibly also the name of the wood.

² In the compound *sītavāta-kālītū* the Br. MS. of the Commentary reads *kīlītū*, the S. MS. *kadditū*. In both the word denotes the musical call (*madhuravassitaṇ*) of the peacock (*mora* = *mayūra*). According to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (187), the term *kalasaddo* is used to designate any inarticulate pleasant sound. The birds are described as crying their *ke-kā* call when they hear the thunder of the approaching clouds heralding the rains. *Mora*, a redundant foot, has crept in—from the Commentary perhaps. ‘Humid,’ the translator’s gloss, from *meghavātena*, ‘rain-cloud-breeze,’ in the Commentary.

³ See Ps. CCVIII. Soṇa was of Avanti far to the E.

⁴ *Cariyānukūlaṇ kammaṭṭhānaṇ*.

the ebb and flow of all things, attained the topmost meditation of the Paths, winning arahantship, with mastery of the form and meaning of the doctrine. Desirous to go up to the hilly region that he might dwell in bliss while he lived, he made known his own experience in this verse :

Lo ! I who in the bamboo thicket dined
 Off rice and honey, who now comprehend,
 Him worshipping,¹ the ebb and flux of all
 These factors of my life, will hie me back
 Up on my hill, to foster there the growth
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.² (23)

XXIV

Sugandha.

He was reborn in this **Buddha-age of wealthy** parents at Sāvattthī. And because of **his aspiration** in the past, when he presented Kassapa Buddha **with a** Fragrant Chamber of sandal-wood, that he might **in one** life be reborn with a fragrant body, he, on the **day of his birth**—and his mother before that day—filled the **house** with fragrance. Then said his parents : ‘Our son **is come** bringing his own name!’ and they called him **Sugandha** (Aroma). When grown up, he was induced to **leave** the world by the preaching of the Thera Mahā-Sela.³ And within seven

¹ *Padakkhiṇay sammāsanto*. The Commentary explains the former word as ‘perfectly accepting the Master’s admonition.’ The Chronicle lays stress on the tonic effect of the food on his spiritual attainment, a characteristically anti-ascetic comment.

² *Vivekam anubrūhayan ti*. Cf. Childers under the latter word. In the Commentary *paṭipassaddhi-vivekaṃ phalasamāpattiy kāya-vivekaṃ ca paribrūhanto*. Cf. ver. 1246, n.

³ This Thera (‘Great-rock’) is probably the brahmin teacher of the Sela-Sutta in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, who was converted by the Buddha, became an arahant, and would naturally continue to exercise his oratorical gifts. Cf. *Milinda*, i. 253 ; *Sum.* V., i. 276.

days he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he uttered this verse :

Scarce have the rains gone by since I went forth,
Yet see the seemly order of the Norm !
The Threefold Wisdom¹ have I gotten now
And done all that the Buddha bids us do.² (24)

XXV

Nandiya.

Born in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sākiyan rāja, his parents said : He is born bringing us bliss ; and they called him Nandiya (Beatus). Grown up, he went forth, when Anuruddha and the rest left the world under the Master. And because of his studies and his resolve made in the past, he soon attained arahantship. Thereafter he dwelt with Anuruddha the Thera³ and his

¹ *Tevijjo*, lit., 'thrice-wise.' This brahminist phrase, referring to one who had learnt the three Vedas, was adopted by the Buddha, and transferred to one who had the three kinds of *paññā*, *viññā*, or *abhiññā* (intuition, insight), entitled reminiscence of former lives, the heavenly eye, and the destruction of the āsava's, or intoxicants—sensuality, lust of life, opinions, ignorance (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 163-165). Cf. p. 14, n. 8.

² The phrase *anuvassika-pabbajito* is, according to the Commentary, capable of more than one interpretation. If it means 'renounced the world a year ago' (*vide* Neumann), it is curious that *Dhammapāla* does not paraphrase by the term *saṇṇavarachara*. Is it not perhaps permissible, in view of the strong emphasis on the order (lit., 'Normity') of the Norm, to see a parallel between two strands of the fivefold order (*niyama*) of the universe:—the seasons and the Norm (*utu-niyama*, *dharmma-niyama*)? (Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 8, n. 8, and my *Buddhism*, 118 f.) The fruition—namely, of his moral and spiritual evolution—was as certain and inevitable as that 'seedtime and harvest, . . . summer and winter shall not cease' (Gen. viii. 22). The phrase, however, recurs frequently with no such point.

³ On Anuruddha and his friends, see Ps. CXXXVIII.-CXXXIX., CCLVI. (cf. Ps. CXXXVIII.). The only passage where Nandiya is mentioned independently is *Saṇṇ.*, v. 408. *Dhammapada Com.*, on verses 219, 220, refers to a quite different Nandiya (verse 11, Nandika, Nanda) of Benares, a lay-adherent.

friends, in the Eastern Bamboo Wood. There Māra, the Evil One, wishing to frighten him, appeared in a terrifying shape. But the Thera drove him away with the words, 'O Evil One! what canst thou do with those that have transcended thy realm? 'Tis thou that thereby wilt meet with defeat and ruin':

To him whose thought is ever newly born
From splendour of the Path, and eke hath touched
The Fruit—if such a Brother thou assail'st,
Black-hearted sprite, to misery thou must go.¹ (25)

XXVI

Abhaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of King Bimbisāra. The circumstances of his rebirth will be set forth later.² Nātaputta the Jain leader taught him a dilemma to set the 'Samaṇa Gotama,' but in the Master's reply he recognized the defeat of the Jain and the supreme enlightenment of the Exalted One. Thereafter, when the king died, Abhaya grew anxious and left the world for the Order. Through the preaching of the Sutta on the parable of the hole in the yoke, he reached the First Path; again, stirring up insight, he realized arahantship.³ Thereupon, glorying in that which he had won, he confessed aññā saying:

Of him, the Buddha, kin o' th' sun, I heard
The word most eloquent, and hearing pierced
The subtle truth of things, as 'twere the tip
Of hair by cunning bowman's art transfixed.⁴ (26)

¹ Cf. verse 1189.

² See *Sisters*, p. 80 (where the printer altered the name to Abhayā). The dilemma episode occupies the Abhayarājakumāra-Sutta (58) of the *Majjh. Nik.*

³ I.e., the fruition of the Fourth, or Topmost, Path. This Sutta is probably that of the turtle and the floating trap (*Saṃy.*, v. 455; *Majjh. iii. 169*).

⁴ The typical test of skill with the bow (*Dhp. Com.*, i., p. 288).

XXVII

Lomasakangiya.

When Kassapa was Buddha, this brother left the world and followed him. Now after the Master had preached the Sutta on Happy-Lonely, a certain bhikkhu talked with Lomasakangiya about it. And our Thera, being unable to explain it, uttered the wish: 'May I in the future become able to teach thee the Happy-Lonely!' The other answered: 'May I ask thee!' Of these two the former, when our Buddha lived, was reborn at Kapilavatthu, in the house of a Sākiyan rāja. And he was very delicate, and covered with fine hair, and therefore he was called Lomasakangiya.¹ The other was reborn at that time among the gods, and named Candana.²

Now when Anuruddha and the other Sākiyan youths left the world, Lomasakangiya would not. Then Candana, to stir him up, came to him and asked concerning the Happy-Lonely. The other knew not what he meant. Then Candana reminded him. So Lomasakangiya went to the Exalted One and asked him if it was true that he had made that resolve in the past. 'Ay, youth,' replied the Exalted One; 'and the meaning of it is to be understood in more than fifty points of detail.' Then Lomasakangiya said: 'Wherefore, lord, let me be ordained.' And the Exalted One sent him to get his parents' permission. He asked his mother, but she feared for his health, saying: 'My dear, thou art delicate. How canst thou leave the world?' Then Lomasakangiya uttered this verse:

Nipunan, the subtle, is explained by Dhammapāla as implying the third of the 'Four Truths,' the understanding of the Nirodha Sacca, or the cessation of ill. It is interesting to note how the prince draws his similes from *race* and from *warlike sports*. Cf. Ps. CXXXIX., by the Buddha's stepbrother Nanda; also verse 1160.

¹ *I.e.*, downy limbs. Pronounced Lo'māsa Kang'iya.

² Pronounced Chand'ānā.

Dabba and Kusa grass and pricking stems
 And all that hurts in brush and underwood
 Forth from my breast I'll push and thrust away,
 And go where I the growth may cultivate
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.¹ (27)

Thereupon his mother said, 'Well then, my dear, go forth.' And he gained the Master's consent to be ordained. After doing the preliminary exercises he went to enter the forest. And the bhikkhus said to him: 'Friend, you are delicate. What can you do here? 'Tis cold in the forest.' But he repeated his verse, and entering the forest, devoted himself to meditation, and soon acquired the six forms of supernormal thought.² When he won arahantship he confessed aññā in the same verse.

XXVIII

Jambugāmika's Son.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Campā as the son of a lay-adherent named Jambugāmika,³ and became called

¹ Cf. XXIII., and see Ps. CLXXIV. The Commentary gives us the previous half of the legend, the latter half of which is told in the Lomasakangiya-Sutta of *Majjh.* (iii. 199). Here Candana is represented as teaching the Sutta in question to the Thera. No less than four Suttas of this Nikāya deal with the little poem called 'Bhaddekaratta,' or 'the happy-lonely one,' giving expositions by the Buddha, by Ānanda, by Kaccāna the Great, and by Candana in succession.

² 'The powers named Iddhi, the Celestial Ear, Discerning others' thoughts; reminiscence Of former births, and fifth, the Heavenly Eye.'

Compendium of Philosophy, p. 209.

The sixth, extirpation of the Āsavas, is tantamount to arahantship. The six are comprised in the term 'Abhiññā,' and are left untranslated as 'Abhiññā' in the following psalms.

³ In the Commentary Jambugāmiya. The name refers to an office, and means syndic of the village of Rose-apple-trees, a place included by the Buddha on his last preaching tour (*Dialogues*, ii. 188), and which probably was a suburb of Campā (pronounced Champā), on the Ganges, the easternmost point of the Buddha's ministrations.

after his father. While studying as a novice in the Order, he dwelt at Sāketa, in the Añjana Grove.¹ Then his father, thinking, 'I wonder if my son remains devoted to his life in the Order or not?' wrote the following verse to examine him, and sent it to him :

And art thou then not gratified by gear?
 And art thou then not charmed thyself t' adorn?
 And is this fragrant odour, virtue-fraught,
 Wafted by thee, and not by other folk? (28)

When he had read² this he thought: 'My father is suspicious that I want worldly vanities. Even to-day I have not got beyond the level of the common man!' Filled with anxiety, he strove and wrestled, so that he soon acquired the six abhiññās. And taking the verse his father sent him as a goad, he finally realized arahantship. And both to confess aññā and honour his father, he recited the verse.

XXIX

Harita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a wealthy brahmin,³ his parents wedded him to a brahmin's daughter suitable in birth, beauty and every other respect. And he, enjoying his lot with her, was one day, while he contemplated the perfection of her beauty, admonished by

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, pp. 84, 158; *Bud. India*, pp. 39, 40; Neumann, *Majjh.* translation, iii. 361, n.

² *Tay vācetvā*. The legend, for us, dates from the Chronicler's day only, when the Piṭakas had long been committed to writing. But as recording even a legend of the committal, at its very birth, of what became a fraction of 'holy writ' to writing, it is of considerable interest. In the verse I read with the Commentary *Kacci na . . . kacci na*. The odour of saintliness is a common Indian metaphor.

³ Cf. CLXXXIV. Harita, one of the gods of the Brahma-heaven (*Dialogues*, ii. 292), was the name in the *Jātaka* of an erring bhikkhu, on whose account the Buddha related a birth-story of his own fallibility when Bodhisat (*Jāt.*, iii. 295).

the order of things,¹ that such beauty must needs ere long be crushed out by decay and death. Nay, when but a few days had passed by, his wife was bitten by a black snake and died. Overwhelmed by anguish he sought the Master and, hearing the Norm, severed his domestic ties and left the world. Now while he was training himself ethically, he could not make straight his heart.² And going for alms into the village,³ he saw a fletcher applying his tools and making straight the shaft of an arrow. Then, he thought: 'These men make even a senseless thing straight; why do I not make straight my heart?' So he turned back and, seated for siesta, stirred up insight. And lo! the Exalted One, seated in the air above him, admonished him by this verse:

Now bend aloft thyself; e'en as his bolt
The fletcher, so do thou, O Harita,
Make straight thy heart and ignorance cut
away. (29)

Hearing him, the Thera developed insight, and soon became an arahant. He thereupon confessed aññā with this same verse.

XXX

Uttiya.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a brahmin, and leaving the world on the quest of the Ambrosial,⁴ he became a Wanderer.⁵ One day on his

¹ Lit., *dhammatā*, cf. p. 39, and my *Buddhism*, pp. 119, 241.

² *Cittā* may be rendered by heart or mind, understood as synonymous, as in our New Testament.

³ *Gāmo*, whether Sāvattthī, called elsewhere *nagara*, 'town,' or a suburb, or other place, is not stated. Cf. Ps. XIX.

⁴ *Amata*, the not-dead, a term applied to Nibbāna, or the Paths thereto; more generally, to the *Summum Bonum*.

⁵ *Paribbājaka*—i.e., an unattached religious. It is very possible that the Uttiya paribbājaka of *Ang.*, v. 193, and the Uttiya bhikkhu of *Sang.*, v. 163, who asks for a lesson in brief, are identical with this

travels he came where the Exalted One was preaching, and entered the Order. From the impurity of his moral principles he could not win the goal. And seeing other bhikkhus who had won confessing to aññā, he asked the Master for a lesson in brief. The Master answered, 'It follows that *you*, Uttiya, must purify the rudiments,'¹ and he taught him them in brief. Uttiya, accepting the lesson, called up insight, but in the process he fell ill. In his anxiety he put forth every effort, and attained arahantship. Inasmuch as he won to perfect attainment in the face of such a condition, he confessed aññā with reference to his illness :

Since sickness hath befallen me, O now
 Let there arise in me true mindfulness.
 Sickness hath now befallen me—'tis time
 For me no more to dally or delay.² (30)

PART IV

XXXI

Gahvaratīriya.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in a brahmin's family, and named Aggidatta.³ When grown

¹ *Tvaṃ ādim eva visodhehīti.*

² The unique reiteration of the *me*, twice in the locative, twice in the dative, in the Pali (the word is identical in both languages), scarcely makes for elegant poetry ; but, to be faithful, the translation was bound to reproduce it. It is very possible that there is here a suggestion of the harassed travail of the feverish and ailing, but unfaltering, indomitable brain. Under this aspect the verse becomes a very living document.

³ *I.e.*, Fire-given. Even if Ratīriya mean Ratīra woodlander (see next page), it is not evident how to interpret Gahva. The name and the Thera are not met with elsewhere. The Brother's disposition and his simile occur in a Sutta comparing five qualities common to excellence in elephants and in bhikkhus (*Ang.*, iii. 161 ff.).

up he saw the Exalted One work the twin-miracle,¹ and, being convinced, he entered the Order. Taking a subject for meditation, he went to the Ratīra forest, and became known as Gahva-Ratīriya. Growing in insight, he in a short time attained arahantship. Thereupon he went to worship the Exalted One at Sāvattthī. His kinsfolk, hearing of his coming, bestowed liberal gifts upon him. And when he wished to go back to the forest, they said: 'Sir, the forest is full of peril through the gadflies and mosquitoes. Stay here!' But the Thera, devoted to detachment, replied, 'Life in the forest suits me,' and confessing aññā he uttered this verse:

In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant,
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant.² (31)

XXXII

Suppiya.

He in this Buddha-age was reborn, in consequence of his actions,³ in a despised class, as one of a clan of watchmen in a cemetery at Sāvattthī. Converted by the preaching of the Thera Sopāka⁴ his friend, he entered the Order and attained to the highest, declaring this in his psalm while he yet was striving for arahantship:

¹ The power of emitting fire and water from any two opposed parts of the body respectively and simultaneously, also of conjuring up a figure moving differently from himself (*Paṭisambhidā*, i. 125). This the Buddha (in post-canonical works) is recorded to have done at Sāvattthī (*Milinda*, ii. 247; *Sumangala-Vil.*, i. 57; *Dham. Comy.*, iii. 213 ff.).

² Recurs CLXXVIII., verse 244.

³ Through pride and conceit when a bhikkhu in the Order of Kassapa Buddha. Apparently not the detractor of *Dialogues*, i. 1.

⁴ Cf. XXXIII., CCXXVII.

O would that I who hourly waste, might change ¹
 For that which ne'er decays—who ever burn,
 Might change for that cool bliss—e'en for the
 Peace

That passeth all, Safety beyond compare!² (32)

XXXIII

Sopāka.

(A Boy-Bhikkhu.)

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, of a very poor woman. In her travail his mother fell into a long deep swoon, so that her kinsfolk said 'She is dead!' And they bore her to the cemetery, and prepared to cremate the body. But a spirit prevented the fire burning by a storm of wind and rain, so they went away. Then was the child born hale while the mother died. And the spirit, in human shape, took the infant and placed it in the watchman's house, nourishing it for a time with suitable food. After that the watchman adopted it, and the child grew up with his own son Suppiya (Ps. XXXII.). And because of his birth in the cemetery, he became known as Sopāka, 'the Waif.'³ When he was seven years old it came to pass that the Exalted One early in the morning spread out his Net of Insight to contemplate what folk might be brought in. And seeing what the net enclosed,

¹ The Commentary reads *nimiyaṇ*, and paraphrases by *parivatteyyaṇ cetūpeyyaṇ* (cf. *Vin.*, iii. 219), and concludes: 'Just as men, exchanging any goods for which they care not, are greatly taken by what they get, even so this Brother, caring not for body or life (*jīvitāṇ*), strove after Nibbāna till he won.' 'Cool bliss' is *nibbata*, on which, and on the last clause, see *Sisters*, p. 19, n. 4, and p. 18, n. 2, and p. 14, n. 2, respectively. This is one of the very few psalms which resemble our own anthologies in having a burden of the quest not yet won.

² Ultimate, perfect (*anuttaro*).

³ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 187.

he went to the cemetery. The boy, impelled by his antecedents, approached the Master with a gladdened mind and saluted him. The Master taught him, so that he asked to leave the world, and when bidden to gain his father's consent, fetched the latter to the Master. The father saluted, and asked the Master to admit the boy. And the Master had him admitted, and assigned to him the study of fraternal love.¹ He, taking this exercise and dwelling in the cemetery, soon acquired the corresponding jhāna. And making that his base,² he fostered insight and realized arahantship. As arahant he showed in his verse to the other bhikkhus dwelling there the principle of the love exercises, bidding them make no difference between those who were to them friendly, indifferent, or hostile. For all alike their love should be one and the same in its nature, and should include all realms, all beings, at all ages :

E'en as she would be very good
Towards her only child, her well-belovèd son,
So too ye should be very good
Towards all creatures everywhere and every-
one.³ (33)

¹ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 219. It is a pretty touch that the boy, who as a waif owed everything to fraternal love and pity, should have been set this study. Cf. Ps. I.

² *Compendium*, p. 62.

³ This simile is better known in the form given it in the *Sutta-Nipāta* (verse 149) and the *Khuddaka-pāṭha*, bringing in the loving mother more explicitly. Here the language is so simple that it really lends probability to the Commentator's story of the boy-bhikkhu, who as a 'waif' had never known a mother. I have therefore rendered it as a child's attempt. 'Ye' is lit. 'one.'

XXXIV

Posiya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a very wealthy councillor,¹ and the younger brother of the Thera Sangāmaji.² When he was grown up he married; but when a son was born to him, he, being impelled by the order of things belonging to the last span of life, grew anxious concerning birth and the like. So he left the world and dwelt alone in the forest, exercising himself in the Four Truths. And soon after he won arahantship.

Then he went to Sāvattthī to worship the Exalted One, and came to his home. There his former wife entertained him and, unaware of his disposition, was desirous of drawing him back by her attractions. The Thera thinking 'Alas! the fool of desire has designs even on such as me,' said no word, but rose up and went away into the forest. And the bhikkhus there said to him: 'Why, friend, you are come back too quickly; have you not seen your people?' The Thera told them what had taken place, and recited a verse:

Best when not near, both now and evermore,
Are such as these for him who understands. ^
Forth from the township to the woods I went,
Thence to my home once more I came; but thence
Rising I gat me forth again, nor e'er
Did this same Posiya let fall a word. (34)

¹ On the term *seṭṭhi*, see *Sisters*, p. 192, n. 1. I have in this work decided to use 'councillor' as expressing, for us, a Burgess of some official importance, head (*seṭṭhi*)—e.g., of a guild, etc.

² See *Udāna*, i. 8; *Netti*, p. 150.

XXXV

Sāmaññakāni.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Wanderer,¹ and was converted to the religious life when he saw the Exalted One perform the twin-miracle.² And through jhāna he attained arahantship.

Now a Wanderer named Kātiyāna, whom he had known as a layman, had lost all support from the laity since the Buddha had arisen, and was destitute. He came to the Thera and said: 'You of the Sākiyans, who have won much fame and support, live happily, but we are distressed and destitute. What should one do to compass happiness both in this life and the next?' The Thera said: 'Happiness not of the world:—this, for one who undergoes the suitable procedure to get it, and who gets it, is alone to be called unqualified happiness.' And to illustrate this by his own attainment, he uttered this verse:

Happiness he who seeks may win an he practise the
 seeking—
 Honour he gaineth beside, and growth of renown
 shall befall him—
 So he but practise the road called Straight,³ even the
 Ariyan,
 The Noble Eightfold Path whereby we may reach
 salvation.⁴ (35)

¹ Paribbājaka—i.e., an unattached *religious*. Whether he was born before the father left the world, or after he had lapsed into it again (cf. *Sisters*, Ps. lxviii.), is not stated.

² Cf. p. 86, n. 1.

³ 'Because one has put away all bodily and other crookedness,' explains the Commentary. I seem to discern an echo of the Nikāya verse: *Ujuko nāma so maggo* (*Sany.*, i. 14; *Sisters*, verse 861)—'Straight is the name that Way is called.' The Pāli is in Gāyatrī metre (Vedic).

⁴ *Amata*. Cf. XXI.

XXXVI

Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Avanti country.¹ at the town of Veḷukaṇḍa in the family of a housefather, he was called Nanda. But his mother's name was Kumā, whence he was known as Kumā's son. He entered the Order after hearing the venerable Sāriputta preach, and studied on the slope of the frontier hills; but it was only after he had gone to hear the Exalted One that he was able so to correct his exercises, as to realize arahantship. As arahant he saw that the other bhikkhus showed excess in bodily needs, and he admonished them in the doctrine, saying:

O goodly are the things our ears now hear!
 O goodly is the life we here may lead!
 O good it is always to lack a house!²
 Now questioning on things of high import,
 Now showing all due thanks and reverence:
 Such is the calling of the true recluse,
 Of him who owneth naught of anything. (36)

¹ See *Buddhist India*, by Rhys Davids, p. 3 f. It is noteworthy that one of the principal lay-followers of the Buddha was a lady called the Veḷukaṇḍiyan or -kaṇṭikan, mother of Nanda. This, however, was probably Uttarā; she can scarcely be our Kumā, since she is represented as telling the chief Theras that her only son Nanda had been put to death as a boy by the rājas (rājāno), or oligarchs. Nanda was a common name, and it is possible, if we do not impatiently class all such references as purely legendary, that to call one Nanda Kumāputta was a convenient distinction among neighbours. It may, of course, have reference to bīna-marriage descent (*Saṃy.*, ii. 236; *Ang.*, i. 26, 88, 164; iii. 886; iv. 68; and cf. *Dialogues*, i. 198, § 5).

² An allusion to *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 844. This is discussed in *Saṃy.*, iii. 9 ff.; 'lacking a house' is symbolical of 'not being engrossed by objects and pleasures of sense.'

XXXVII

The Comrade of Kumā's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Velukaṇḍa, of a wealthy family, and named Sudanta—some say Vasu-
lekha—he became the dear friend of Kumā's son. When
the latter left the world, he thought: 'That can be no
mean religion which Kumā's son has entered.' So he went
and heard the Master preach. Thereupon he was filled
with a much more fervent desire and entered the Order,
dwelling with Kumā's son on the frontier hills devoted to
religious exercises.

Now at that time many bhikkhus touring in various
districts, going and coming, halted at that station, so that
there was much noise. And Sudanta, disturbed in his
concentration of mind, made his trouble the goad for the
taming of his thoughts, and uttered this verse:

To divers regions back and forth they fare
Heedless of heart upon their rounds, and balk
The mind's due concentration. What, forsooth,
Shall all this vagabondage¹ bring to pass?
Hence is it meet that clamour be subdued,
Nor harass him who fain would meditate. (37)

XXXVIII

Gavampati.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as one of the four
lay-companions of the Thera Yasa, who, when they heard
of Yasa's renunciation, imitated him, and also won ara-
hantship.² Thereafter he dwelt in the Añjana Grove at

¹ *Raṭṭhañcariya*, lit., kingdom-touring; not a bad predecessor of our
'globe-trotting.' It was part of a bhikkhu's duties, though liable to
be abused or—at least, as here—mismanaged. *Raṭṭhañ* is metrically
redundant, but the disturbance in rhythm may be intentional.

² See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 110, and below, CXXXII. On Gavampati,
see also *Dialogues*, ii. 373; *Saṃy.*, v. 486.

Sāketa, experiencing the bliss of emancipation. Now at that time the Exalted One came also with a great company of bhikkhus to the Añjana Grove, and the accommodation was insufficient, many of the bhikkhus sleeping around the vihāra on the sandbanks of the River Sarabhū.¹ Then in the middle of the night the stream rose in flood, and a great cry arose from the younger brethren. The Exalted One hearing it, sent for the venerable Gavampati, and said: 'Go, Gavampati, arrest the rising stream, and put the bhikkhus at ease.' And the Thera by his mystic power did so, and stopped the stream afar so that it stood up like a mountain-peak. Thenceforth the might of the Thera became known. One day as the Master sat teaching in the midst of a great assembly he saw Gavampati, and in compassion for the world praised his virtues in this verse:

Who by his might² reared up the Sarabhū,
 Who standeth self-reliant and unmoved,
 Who hath transcended every tie, Gavampati,
 Him mighty seer the very gods acclaim,
 Surpasser of the coming back to be.³ (38)

XXXIX

Tissa.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of the Exalted One's aunt, and named Tissa.⁴ He left the world to follow the Exalted One, and dwelling in a woodland settlement, was proud because of his rank, being

¹ The present city of Ayodhyā stands on a corner of the site of what was once the great city, 24 miles in circumference, of Sāketa, about 100 miles north-north-east of Benares. The Sarabhū or Sarayū flows through it into the Gharghara, a tributary of the Ganges. Cf. XXVIII.

² The Commentary reads *vadanti* (they say), instead of *iddhiyā*.

³ *Bhavassa pāraguṇ*. The former half of the gāthā is of the Triṣṭubh, the latter of the Jagati metre.

⁴ I.e., son of Amatā (Amritā), sister of Suddhodana.

irritable and 'captious in his conduct, so that he did not do his duties with zeal. Then the Master, surveying him one day with celestial vision from afar, while he was sleeping with open mouth at siesta, came over him above, shedding glory down upon him, and wakening him with these words :

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,¹
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all worldly passions left behind. (39)

When the Thera heard this, his heart was filled with anguish, and he abode intent on insight. Noting this, the Master taught him the 'Sutta of Thera Tissa,' which is in the *Samyutta* collection.² At the close of it Tissa was established in arahantship. And to confess aññā and honour the Master, he uttered that same verse.

XL

Vaddhamāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a Licchavi rāja, he became as a pious lad a servitor to the Order. Later, after he had been ordained, he also was subject to sloth and torpor, and was also aroused by the Master with this verse :

As one downsmitten by impending sword,
As one whose hair and turban are aflame,
So let the Brother, mindful and alert,
Go forth, all lust of living³ left behind. (40)

¹ On this metaphor, see *Sisters*, p. 172, verse 7. The Commentary has a note on various sword-wounds, but the moral is simply the need of instant action, whether to heal or to extinguish. See verse 1,162 *f*.

² *Samy.*, iii. 106. Tissa confesses to the brethren his mental sluggishness and distaste for religion. They bring him to the Master. The Homily, with catechism, is in keeping with the above. In the *Dhammapada Comy.* (i. 87) he is called Thulla-Tissa (Fat Tissa). Cf. *Samy.*, i. 18.

³ Lit., of becoming. For *satto* read *sato*.

PART V

XLI

Sirivadḍha.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in the house of a prosperous brahmin. Previous causes induced him, when King Bimbisāra met the Master, to take orders, and he went to a certain forest near the hills Vebhāra and Paṇḍava, and there dwelt devoted to religious exercises. And there arose once a great storm, and the lightnings entered the cave. But the wind from the pregnant clouds assuaged the heat and fever oppressing the Thera, so that by the more suitable temperature his heart grew concentrated, and he was able to exercise such insight that he won arahantship. So he, with aññā as a pretext, broke forth into this utterance touching himself :

The lightnings flash e'en in the rocky cave,
Smiting Vebhāra's crest and Paṇḍava,¹
And, in the mountain-bosom hid, a child
Of that incomparable Master sits
Ardent in contemplative ecstasy. (41)

XLII

Khadira-Vaniya.

(Revata.)

He was reborn, in this Buddha-age, in the kingdom of Magadha, at the village of Nālaka, as the son of Rūpasārī, the brahminee. When he was grown up his mother desired

¹ Two of the five crests in the group of hill-ranges rising above Rājagaha (Rājgir). The former name persists as Baibhāra or Vaibhāra (see illustration), which rises to the East. The last line expands the one word *jhāyati*, a word meaning, in Pali, both 'burns' and 'meditates in jhāna.' Cf. verse 1,167.

he should marry, but he heard of Sāriputta's¹ renunciation, and said: 'If my elder brother Upatissa has laid aside this wealth, I too will vomit back his vomit,' and he went to the bhikkhus and, announcing himself as the younger brother of the 'General of the Norm,'² he asked for ordination. When he had won arahantship in the Acacia Wood,³ he went to Sāvattthi to salute the Exalted One and his brother, staying a few days at the Jeta Grove. Then the Master, seated in the conclave of the Ariyans, assigned 'Revata the Acacia-woodlander the first place among forest bhikkhus.'⁴

At another time he went to his native village and fetched away his three nephews, the sons of his three sisters, Cālā, Upacālā, and Sisūpacālā,⁵ named respectively, Cāla, Upacāla, and Sisūpacāla, and ordained them. One day the Thera was ill, and Sāriputta heard of it, and said: 'I will make inquiry after Revata's state and treatment.' And seeing him coming far off, Revata admonished the three novices to be heedful, saying:

Come, Cāla, and you, Upacāla too,
Sisūpacāla also, take good heed,
Be on your guard, for he who comes to you
Is as a wondrous archer splitting hairs. (43)

And when they heard him the novices went forth to meet the General of the Norm, and while he conversed with their uncle, sat near composed and intent. When he approached them, they rose up, bowed, and remained standing. The Thera asked them at which vihāra they were

¹ Rūpasāri's relation to Upatissa Sāriputta (*i.e.*, son of Sāri), the chief Thera, is given in *Dhp. Com.*, i. 88, and below CCLIX.

² The usual title of Sāriputta.

³ Khadira; Acacia Catechu, according to Childers.

⁴ *Ang.*, i. 24. For Revata's longer poem see CCXLIV.

⁵ See *Sisters*, Ps. lix., lx., lxi. In the absence of the Commentary, Dr. Neumann has assumed that the three masculine vocatives in the text are feminine, and that Revata is addressing his sisters. Pronounce Cāl- as Chāl- in all these names.

each dwelling, and they replied : ' At such an one. Then, instructing the boys, he said : ' My little brother has indeed taught the lesser duties belonging to the Norm,' and thus praising Revata, he departed.

XLIH

Sumangala.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at a hamlet near Sāvattī, in a poor family. Grown up, he earned his living in the fields, furnished with a little sickle, plough, and spade. Now one day when King Pasenadi of Kosala was bestowing a great offering on the Exalted One and the Order, he went, taking milk and butter, along with men who were taking woodwork. Seeing the attentions and honours paid to the Brethren and Sisters, he thought :

These Sākiyan recluses live in sheltered lodgings and in delicate robes—what if I too were now to leave the world ?' And he approached a certain great Thera and made known his intention. The Thera out of compassion admitted him, and sent him into the forest with an exercise. But in solitude he pined and wavered, and departed to his native village. Then as he went along he saw the peasants ploughing the fields in soiled garments, covered with dust blown by hot winds. And he thought : ' Truly these fellows earn their living in great misery !' And feeling anxious, his insight approaching maturity, he set himself to do the exercises that had been given him, going to the roots of a tree, and biding in seclusion. Thus he finally won arahantship. Thereafter, to celebrate his own emancipation from the ills of life, he broke forth into this psalm :

Well rid, well rid, O excellently rid
Am I from these three crooked tasks and tools,
Rid o' my reaping with your sickles, rid
Of trudging after ploughs, and rid's my back
Of bending o'er these wretched little spades.

Though they be ever here, ay, ever here,
 Enough of them, I say, for me, enough !
 Go meditate, Sumangala, ay, go
 And meditate, Sumangala, and bide
 Earnest and diligent, Sumangala !¹ (43)

XLIV

S ā n u .

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in the family of a lay-follower, after the father had left his home. The mother, naming him Sānu, brought him when he was seven years old to the bhikkhus for ordination, deeming she would thus ensure for him supreme happiness. Now Sānu the Novice became very learned, a teacher of doctrine, and practised in the jhāna of love, being beloved by gods and men. And as we know from the Sānu-Sutta (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i. 108) his mother, in his previous birth, was a Yakkha.² Now as time went on Sānu lost his intellectual discernment and grew distraught, and longed to go a-roaming. Then his previous mother perceived this, and warned his human mother saying : ‘ Your son has a fancy to roam, wherefore bid him rouse himself. Tell him what the Yakkhas say :

*Do nought of evil, open or concealed,
 If evil thou now doest or wilt do,
 Thou’lt not escape from ill, e’en though thou flee.*³

¹ This curious and racy verse runs into four lines of text, is of no assignable metre or symmetry, and would seem to represent a Walt-Whitmanesque effort of a *peasant-bhikkhu* to turn out rough-hewn the utterance of his emotions. As such, it is of striking interest, and is paralleled in homeliness and verve by the verse of Muttā (*Sisters*, Ps. xi.), herself of humble circumstances, rejoicing to be rid of her special trio of crooked things—husband, quern, and churn.

² The Yakkhas, denizens of the jungle, and man-eaters ; conceivably the legendary survivors of aboriginals, but, as here, invested with more than human intuition.

³ *Saṃy.*, ii. 271 ; *Udāna*, v. 4 ; *Sisters*, verses 246, 247.

Thus saying, the Yakkha-mother disappeared. But when the human mother heard, she was overwhelmed with grief. Then Sānu the novice, taking his robe and bowl, set out early and came to his mother. At sight of her sorrow he said: 'Mother, why do you weep?' When she told him why, he said this verse:

Mother, they weep for the dead, or the living they may not see.

But for him, O mother, who lives, who is here, why mournest thou me? (44)

His mother answered him from the Suttas, "This is death, O bhikkhus, that one should reject the training and turn again to lower things,"¹ and with this verse:

*They mourn for son who lieth dead, or him
Who is alive but whom they no more see,
And him they mourn, who though he did renounce
The world, my son, doth hither come again,
For though he live again, yet is he dead.
Drawn forth from burning embers, O my dear,
Dost thou on embers wish to fall again?*

When he heard her, anguish seized on Sānu the Novice, and making firm his insight, he soon won arahantship. And thereupon thinking, 'My victory is due to that verse,' he repeated it as his psalm.²

XLV

Ramaṇīyavihārin.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a leading citizen, he lived in youthful wantonness. One day he saw the king's officers arresting an adulterer, and grow-

¹ *Saṅg.*, ii. 271; *Sisters*, verses 246, 247; the verse is from *Saṅg.* i. 209.

² The *Dhammapada Commentary*, discussing verse 826, has, as its subject, Sānu and his mother. His own question was the penultimate, though not the proximate, cause of his victory.

ing agitated, he listened to the Master teaching, and left the world. As a bhikkhu, but still susceptible to fleshly lusts, he made himself a well-garnished chamber,¹ well furnished as to food and drink, seat and couch ; and so he ever dwelt. For this reason he was known as Ramañiya-vihārin (Pleasant-lodge Brother). But his previous indulgence making the recluse's life too hard for him, he felt unworthy to accept the offerings of the faithful and said : 'I will roam.' On his way he sat down beneath a tree. And as carts were passing by on the road, one ox being weary stumbled at a rough place and fell. The carter loosened its yoke, gave it hay and water and so allayed its fatigue ; then he harnessed it again and they went on. And the Thera thought : ' Even as this ox having stumbled has arisen and draws his own load, so doth it behove me, who once have stumbled in the forest of vice, to arise and carry out the duty of a recluse.' And thoughtfully turning back, he told what he had done and seen to Thera Upāli,² was by him absolved from his fault, and helped back into right ways. And not long after he attained arahantship. Thereafter enjoying the bliss of freedom, he set forth his lapse and return in this verse :

E'en though he trip and fall, the mettled brute
Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more.
So look on me as one who having learned
Of Him, the All-Enlightened One, have gained
True insight, am become of noble breed,
And of the Very Buddha very child.³ (45)

¹ Or well polished, *susamattṭhan*.

² See Ps. CLXXX. As the greatest expert in Vinaya, or the discipline of the Order, Upāli (if it be this Upāli who is meant) was eminently qualified to judge respecting his lapse, and to counsel him.

³ As this verse stands in the PTS version, it is incomplete. The Commentary leads us to suppose that it should be completed, as is the case, in verse 174, *q.v.*

XLVI

Samiddhi.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a clansman's family.¹ From the time he was born the wealth of his family increased, and he himself, handsome and virtuous, became known as Samiddhi (Prospero). He saw the power of the Buddha when the latter was met by Bimbisāra,² won faith in him, and left the world, abiding devoted to meditation. When the Exalted One was staying at the Tapoda Park,³ Samiddhi one day was musing in exquisite joy on his good fortune as a bhikkhu. Then Māra the Evil One, unable to bear it, made a fearful noise near him, as if the very earth were splitting. The Thera told this to the Exalted One. The latter bade him persist where he was and think no more about it. He obeyed, and soon after won arahantship. Māra, unaware of it, once more created a fearful noise. But the Thera felt no fear: 'Undaunted by all such Māras, not once have I turned a hair!' And confessing aññā, he uttered this verse:

In trust and hope forth from my home I came
 Into the homeless life. And there in me
 Have mindfulness and insight grown, and tense
 And well composed my heart and mind. Make thou
 Whatever shams thou list, thou'lt harm me not. (46)

And Māra, thus rebuked, said, 'The recluse knows me,' and vanished from that place.

¹ *Kulagehe*. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 17-22.

² *Vinaya Texts*, i. 136.

³ This episode is related in nearly the same words, and with the same gāthā, in the Māra-Saṃyutta (*Saṃy.*, i. 119 f., p. 91), but the geography is a little halting. In the Nikāya the locality is Silāvatī of the Sākiyans; the Tapoda Park was on the river of that name at Rājagaha. Samiddhi, in the double rôle of Adonis and Galahad, is the subject of the 'Samiddhi-jātaka' (*Jātaka*, ii., No. 167).

XLVII

Ujjaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a brahmin graduate.¹ Grown up and proficient in the Three Vedas, he saw no kernel in them, and being urged by maturity of conditions, he went to the Bamboo Grove, and when he had heard the Master preach, he left the world. Meditating in the forest on ethical conduct, he was not long in winning arahantship. Thereupon he approached the Master, saluted him, seated himself on one side and, by praising the Exalted One, confessed aññā in this verse :

Buddha the Wake, the Hero hail ! all hail !²
 Thou who from every bond art wholly free !
 ' Strong in the lore I learnt of thee, I live ³
 From fourfold venom cleansed, sane, immune.⁴ (47)

XLVIII

Sañjaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age, at Rājagaha, as the son of a wealthy brahmin. Grown up, he followed the example of Brahmāyu, Pokkharasāti and other well-known brahmins, who found faith in the Master and reached the First Path. Later he entered the Order and acquired the

¹ *Sotthiya brāhmaṇa* (Sansk. *śrotriya*), 'one who had graduated in the sacred tradition.'

² See *Sisters*, verse 157.

³ More literally, 'In thy lore a liver I live.'

⁴ *I.e.*, from the four Āsavas; or poisons or intoxicants—sensuality, (love of) rebirth, opinion or speculation, ignorance (*Compendium* p. 227).

six abhiññās. Then, confessing aññā, he uttered this verse :

Since I went forth from home to homeless life,
Ne'er have I harboured conscious wish or plan
Un-Ariyan, or linked with enmity.¹ (48)

XLIX

Rāmaṇeyyaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a wealthy family, his heart was moved when the Jeta Grove was presented,² and he left the world. Dwelling in the forest he meditated on ethical conduct, and, because of his attainments and charm, he became called Rāmaṇeyyaka (Gratus, Gratus).

Now one day Māra the Evil One, wishing to disturb him, made a fearful noise. The Thera, hearing it, was with his habitual courage unafraid, and knew it was Māra. And to show his contempt he uttered this verse :

Not all the clitter-clatter of your noise,
No more than chirp and squeal of forest sounds,³
Avail to make pulse throb or mind distraught,
For *one* the aim to which my heart is given. (49)

This verse became the Thera's confession of aññā.

¹ Cf. verses 603, 645. Pokkhārāsāti and other brahmins are named as adherents in the Vāsetṭha Sutta (*Sutta-Nipāta*, iii. 9), but Sañjāyā is not mentioned. This is not the teacher of Sāriputta (CCLIX.).

² Cf. p. 4; *Sisters*, p. 60.

³ The limited range, as yet, of Pali lexicography makes it difficult to follow the Commentary's elucidation of *sippika*. But that the Thera contemptuously likens Māra's 'fearful noise' to minor forest sounds, such as those emitted by monkeys and squirrels, is obvious. The gāthā, barely stated, is thus: As to the *x y* noise and the *z* sounds, *that* does not make 'throb my heart, for devotion to unity is mine.'

L

Vimala.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, of a wealthy family, and (because of a wish he had uttered over a pious act when Kassapa was Buddha) his body was as pure as a dewdrop on a lotus-leaf, or as that of the Bodhisat in his last birth. Wherefore he was named Vimala (Im-maculatus). When grown up he was filled with faith on seeing the Buddha at Rājagaha,¹ and leaving the world, took a form of study and went to dwell in a mountain cave in Kosala.

Now one day a vast storm-cloud spread over the firmament and the rain fell, allaying heat and feverishness, so that the Thera was able to concentrate till he had won arahantship. Thereupon rejoicing over his accomplished task, he broke forth in this psalm :

The burdened earth is sprinkled by the rain,
The winds blow cool, the lightnings roam on high.
Eased and allayed th' obsessions of the mind,
And in my heart the spirit's mastery.² (50)

This verse was the Thera's confession of aññā.

PART VI

LI-LIV

Godhika, Subāhu, Valliya, Uttiya.

In the time of our Buddha, these four, companions in a former birth when Kassapa Buddha was on earth, were reborn at Pava³ as the sons of four Malla rājas,⁴ and there

¹ Cf. Pss. XLI., XLVI.

² Lit., 'the heart (consciousness) of me is well composed.'

³ See *Dialogues*, ii. 186 ff.

⁴ Among Mallas, Kōliyans, Licchavis, Sākiyans, every clansman was called a rāja.

was whole-hearted friendship between them. They went on some embassy to the King at Kapilavatthu. At that time the Master too had gone thither, and was staying in the Banyan Park, where he convinced the Sākiyan rājas by his twin-miracle.¹ Then the four saw the same and believed. They entered the Order, and not long after attained arahantship with thorough mastery of the letter and spirit of the Norm. Now after they had received much honour and support from the King and his ministers, they dwelt in the forest. Then King Bimbisāra, when they went to Rājagaha, called on them and invited them to spend the rains, building for each of them a *chālet*, but carelessly omitting to have the huts roofed. So the Theras dwelt in those huts unsheltered. But at the time of the rains, the god rained not.² And the king, wondering thereat, remembered his neglect, and had the *chālets* thatched with plaster and painted, and held an opening festival, besides giving gifts to the Order. The Theras did the King the favour of entering, and forthwith attained to the suffusion of universal love. Then from the north and the east arose a great storm-cloud, and just as the Theras emerged from their ecstasy, the rain fell. Then Godhika, aroused by the thunder of the storm, uttered this verse :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 The heart of me is steadfast and at peace.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (51) ⁴

And Subāhu :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed,
 Well hath my mind the body's nature grasped.³
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (52)

¹ See p. 36, n. 1.

² The usual idiom for 'it rained' (cf. I.). The Commentary again paraphrases 'deva' by rain-cloud (*megha*), without Pajjunna. The metre of these rain-verses is of a peculiar rippling rhythm. I cannot allocate it.

³ Lit. : 'Well composed is the mind with respect to the senses.'

And Valliya :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Herein earnest and strenuous I dwell.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (53)

And Uttiya :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Herein I dwell unmated and alone.¹
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (54)

LV

Añjana-vaniya.²

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, of the family of a rāja³ of the Vajjians. When he was grown up, a threefold panic had arisen in the Vajjian territory—to wit, the fear of drought, of sickness, and of non-human foes. This is all told in the Commentary on the Ratana-Sutta.⁴ When the Exalted One quieted the panic at Vesālī, and a great concourse heard him preach, this rāja's son heard him also, and winning faith, left the world.

When he had fulfilled the preliminary training, he dwelt in the Añjana Wood at Sāketa. And when the rains drew near, he procured a worn castaway couch, and placing it on four stones and enclosing it above and around with grasses, he set up a door to it, and so got a sheltered

¹ *Adutiyo* can mean this, or else 'free from craving.' Cf. verse 896, n.

² The Commentary has *Añjanavanira*.

³ On *rājas*, see above, LI.

⁴ Or Jewel Discourse, *Sutta-Nipāta* and *Khuddaka-Pāṭha*; an interesting remark, if the Commentary he refers to is the *Paramattha-jotikā*. I have found no canonical account of this panic.

retreat for the rainy season. After only one month his strenuous study won for him arahantship. Thereafter, feeling the bliss of emancipation, he roused himself, and contemplating his victory with rapture uttered this verse :

Deep in the leafy glades of Añjana
My couch into a little hut I made.
The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.¹ (55).

LVI

Kuṭivihārin.²

His story (in this life) is like that of Añjana-vaniya, with this difference: while striving for insight he was walking by the fields, and took shelter from the rain in the little empty hut of the field-watchman, and there won arahantship. Thereupon the watchman came and said: 'Who is in the hut?' The answer was: 'A bhikkhu is in the hut,' and the rest of the verse:

Who's in my little hut? A brother 'tis,
Who in thy little hut, all passions tamed,
Hath thoroughly set his mind. Know this, O
friend,
'Twas not for naught thou mad'st thy little
hut! (56)

Then the watchman said: 'Luck indeed for me, good luck indeed is mine, that your honour should have come into my little hut and be sitting there!'

And the Exalted One heard their converse by his celestial

¹ Verse 24, n. 3.

² I.e., hut-dweller; in the Commentary Kuṭivihāriya.

hearing, and discerned the watchman's pleasure. And he addressed these verses to him :

*Within the hut a brother dwells, peace in his heart,
purged of all taint.
Fruit of this deed shall be to thee : lord of the gods
thou'lt come to be
Six times, ay, seven, lord of the gods, ruler over celestial
realms,
Thereafter all thy passions tamed, a Silent Buddha¹
thou shalt be.*

From that time the Thera began to be called Kutivihārin.

LVII

Kuṭivihārin (2).

His story resembles that of the Añjana Wood Thera, with this difference : When he had left the world under similar circumstances, he pursued his religious studies in a very old hut. And he thought : ' This old hut is now rotten ; I ought to make another.' So he turned his mind to new action.² Then a spirit, seeking salvation, sought to agitate him by uttering this verse, simple in words but profound in meaning :

This was an ancient hut, say'st thou ? To build
Another hut, a new one, is thy wish ?
O cast away the longing for a hut !
New hut will bring new pain, brother, to thee.³ (57)

When he heard these words, the Thera grew anxious, and with effort and endeavour establishing insight, soon won arahantship. Thereupon he repeated the verse as that which had spurred him on to victory, and as the confession of his aññā. Because he had attained while in the hut, he, too, became known as Kuṭivihārin.

¹ Pacceka-buddha. See *Sisters*, p. 11, n. 4.

² *Kamma*, karma.

³ Cf. *Sarabhangā*, CCXXVIII. ' New hut ' symbolizes rebirth.

LVIII

Ramañīyakuṭika.

His story resembles that of the Añjana-Woodlander, with this difference: he dwelt in a hut beside a hamlet in the Vajjian territory. It was a pretty pleasing little *chālet*, with floor and walls well prepared, surrounded by park and tank, and with its enclosure of smooth pearly sand. And the Thera's excellent virtues enhanced its attractiveness. He there won arahantship, and there continued to dwell. Now when people came to see the vihāra (settlement), they could see the hut. One day a few fast women came by, and seeing the attractiveness of the hut said: 'The recluse living there might be a youth we could fascinate.' So they accosted him, saying: 'Delightful, sir, is your dwelling-place. We too are delightful to see, just in the prime of our youth,' and they began to show off their raiment and so forth. But the Thera set forth his passionless state in this verse:

Delightful is my little hut, the gift
 Most fair of faithful, pious folk.
 What need of maidens then have I? Nay, go
 Thither to them, ye women, who have need of
 you. (58)

By this 'not needing' saying, the declaration of the Thera's arahantship is implied.

LIX

Kosalavihārīn.

His story resembles that of the Añjana-Woodlander, with this difference: after his novitiate, he dwelt in the forest by a village in the kingdom of Kosala, near the dwelling of a lay adherent. The latter, seeing him camped under a

tree, made a little hut and gave it him. There the Thera attained arahantship. Then filled with rapture at his emancipation, he uttered this psalm :

Strong in my faith ¹ I left the world. Now here
 Within the woods a hut is made for me ;
 And I with zeal and ardour meditate,
 With watchful wit and clarity of mind. (59)

This was his confession of aññā, and because he dwelt so long in Kosala, he became known as the Kosala settler.

LX

Sīvali.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Suppavāsā, the king's daughter.² When his mother was not able to bring forth and lay seven days in great suffering, she said to her husband : ' Before I die I will give a gift.' And she sent him to the Master, saying : ' Go tell of my state to the Master, and invite him ; and what he says, mark well and come and tell it me.' He did her bidding, and the Master said : ' May Suppavāsā, daughter of the Koliyas, be happy. May she, happy and healthy, give birth to a healthy child.' The rāja heard, saluted the Exalted One and set out for the village. Even before he came, Suppavāsā was delivered of a son. The persons

¹ ' When I saw the might of the Exalted One at Vesālī, I thought : " Absolutely able to guide is this doctrine and ordinance ; therefore shall I verily through this attainment be set free from old age and death." And because of the faith thus arisen, I went forth ' (Commentary). The last two lines in the stanza are an expansion of four adjectives, the sentence lacking expressed subject and predicate.

² King of Koliya. The story is told in the introduction to the 100th Jātaka (l. 242), in *Udāna* (II. 8), and in *Dhp. Com.* on verse 414 (cf. *Ang.*, ii. 62 . The mother, in the legend, was unable for seven years and seven days to bring forth her child.

who had surrounded her with tearful faces went forth delighted to tell the rāja. He saw them coming and thought: 'That which He of the Ten Powers told me has been fulfilled.' And he went to the princess and told her what the Master had pronounced. Then she bade him show hospitality to the Buddha and the Order for seven days. And saying, 'The child is born, bringing gladness of heart to all our kin,' they named him Sīvali (Auspicious).

By the seventh day from his birth he was able to do anything. Sāriputta, General of the Norm, conversed with him on that day,¹ and said: 'Does it not behove one who has overcome such suffering as you have done to leave the world?' 'Sir,' babbled the infant, 'I would leave the world.' Suppavāsā saw them talking, and asked the Thera what he had said. 'We spoke of the long suffering he has overcome. With your leave I will ordain him.' She replied: 'It is well, sir; ordain him.' And Sāriputta, ordaining him, said: 'Sīvali, you want no other exhortation than the cause of the long suffering you have overcome. Think on that.' 'Sir,' replied the child, 'yours was the burden of ordaining me; but I will find out what I am capable of doing.' At the moment when the first lock of his hair was cut off, he was established in the fruition of the First Path, when the second was cut, in that of the Second Path, and so for the third and fourth. . . .²

Other teachers say that after Sāriputta had ordained him, he went the same day, and taking up his abode in a secluded hut, meditated on his woefully delayed birth, and so, his knowledge attaining maturity, descended into the avenue of insight, casting out all the intoxicants (of the mind)³ and thus attaining arahantship. Thereupon ex-

¹ The verse in the *Dhammapada* (414) is here quoted, and the episode narrated in the Commentary (PTS edition, vol. iii.).

² Here follows the episode dealt with by the Commentary on *Ang.*, i. 24, where Sīvali's eminence as recipient of offerings is stated.

³ See p. 52, n. 4.

periencing the bliss of emancipation, he in emotional rapture uttered this psalm :

Now have they prospered, all my highest aims,
To compass which I sought this still retreat.
The holy lore and liberty, my quest,
All lurking vain conceits I cast away. (60)

PART VII

LXI

Vappa.

HE was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of a brahmin Vāsettha. Now when Asita the seer¹ had declared that the young noble Siddhattha would become omniscient, Vappa with four other sons of brahmins, Kondañña at their head,² became recluses. When Asita's prophecy had been fulfilled, Vappa heard the Buddha preach and thought: 'I will win salvation.' He was present during the six years when the Great Being made his ascetic struggles; thereupon disgusted when the latter again took solid food, he went to Isipatana, and there met the Master then starting the Wheel of the Norm a-rolling and was converted. On the fifth day he and his four mates won arahantship. Thereupon reflecting on the might of the Master and the blindness of the world, and how the Ariyan state bestowed vision, he said this verse :

He who doth see can see another seer,
Him too who hath no eyes wherewith to see,
He who himself sees not, can ne'er discern
Either the eye that sees not, or the seer.³ (61)

¹ *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 128 ff.; *Vinaya Texts*, i. 90, n. 1; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 118.

² See CCXLVI.

³ There is here an allusion to the undiscerning attitude of the five recluses over against the spiritual evolution of the Buddha, recorded by the books referred to.

LXII

Vajji-putta.¹

He was born in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a councillor,² and was named Vajji-son. He saw the majesty of the Exalted One when the latter came to Vesālī, believed, entered the Order, and after his novitiate dwelt in a wood near Vesālī. Now a festival took place at Vesālī, and there was dancing, singing and reciting, all the people happily enjoying the festival. And the sound thereof distracted the bhikkhu, so that he quitted his solitude, gave up his exercise, and showed forth his disgust in this verse :

*Each by himself we in the forest dwell,
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft.
So flit the days one like another by,
Who more unlucky in their lot than we ?*

Now a woodland sprite heard him, and had compassion on the bhikkhu, and thus upbraided him, 'Even though you, bhikkhu, speak scornfully of forest life, the wise desiring solitude think much of it,' and to show him the advantage of it spoke *this* verse :

Each by himself we in the forest dwell, 1
Like logs rejected by the woodman's craft.
And many a one doth envy me my lot,
E'en as the hell-bound him who fares to
heaven. (62)

Then the bhikkhu, stirred like a thoroughbred horse by the spur, went down into the avenue of insight, and striving soon won arahantship. Thereupon he thought, 'The fairy's verse has been my goad !' and he recited it himself.

¹ The son of the Vajjians, or simply, the Vajjian. See CXIX.

² The Vajjians were a republic.

LXIII

Pakkha.

(The Cripple.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age among the Sākiyans, in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Young¹ Saṃmoda. But inasmuch as, when a boy, he suffered from rheumatism,² and at times walked like a cripple, he grew to be called Pakkha (=cripple), and retained the name after his recovery. He was present when the Exalted One visited his kinsfolk,³ won faith in him, entered the Order, and dwelt in the forest. Going one day to the village for alms, he sat down beneath a tree. Then a kite, seizing some flesh, flew up into the sky. Him many kites attacked, making him drop the meat. Another kite grabbed the fallen flesh, and was plundered by another. And the bhikkhu thought: 'Just like that meat are worldly desires, common to all, full of pain and woe.' And reflecting hereon, and how they were impermanent and so on, he carried out his mission, sat down for his afternoon rest, and expanding insight won arahantship. Thereupon making the base of his emotion his goad, he confessed aññā in this verse:

They fly at what is fall'n, and as it lies,
 Swooping in greed they come again, again. . . .
 But what 'twas meet to do, that have I done,
 And what is verily delectable,
 Therein was my delight: thus happily
 Has happiness been sought after and won.⁴ (63)

¹ *Kumāra*, which means simply 'youth,' is a distinctive title of a young noble, as *mānava* is of a young brahmin. We have no suitable word. Cf. the Greek *kouros*.

² *Vātarogo*, lit., 'wind-illness.' On the synonym *vātabādho*, see *Milinda*, i. 191, and below, CLIII.

³ See *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 121 ff.

⁴ *I.e.*, says the Commentary: 'By the happiness of the attainment of fruition has Nibbāna, which is beyond happiness (or is exceeding

LXIV

Vimala-Kondañña.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of Ambapālī, his father being King Bimbisāra.¹ She named the child Vimala, but afterwards he was known as Vimala-Kondañña.² He was convinced by the Buddha-majesty of the Exalted One at Vesālī, left the world for the Order, and attained arahantship. He declared his aññā in this verse :

By the bright Banner came I here to birth
In her called of the Tree. And by the FLAG
That smites the flag, is the great Flag o'er-
thrown.³ (64)

great happiness, *accanta-sukhaṇ*), been won, and by that happiness of insight, which has become a happy mode of *procedure*, has the bliss of Fruition, of Nibbāna, been reached.' The latter interpretation, as Dr. Neumann has pointed out—winning happiness by happiness—is, in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (i. 93 f.), contrasted with the Jain point of view : 'Nay, friend Gotama, happiness is not to be got at by happiness, but by suffering'—the ascetic standpoint. Cf. CLXXI.

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, Ps. lxvi., where he is said to have converted his mother.

² Vimala = spotless. There is no apparent clue to his acquiring the brahmin clan-name of Kondañña. Cf. CCXLVI.

³ This verse is one of the allusion-riddles dear to ancient poets. The one word *ketu* (banner, flag) is symbolical (1) of Bimbisāra's kingship; (2) of the Dhamma : 'For the Norm is the banner of the seers,' quotes the Commentary (*Ang.*, ii. 51; iii. 150); (3) of the vice of conceit (*māna* : 'flaunting a flag . . . desire of the heart for self-advertisement') (*Dhs.*, 1116; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 298, n. 3); (4) of the hosts of evil. Hence the fourfold iteration of *ketu* may be thus paraphrased : 'By me, son of a king (1), through the aid of the Dhamma (2), smiting down evil (4), is conceit (3), with all soul-illusion involved therein, overthrown.' The Tree is the Mango (*amba*), beneath which, in her legend, Ambapālī was found as an infant.

LXV

Ukkhepakata-Vaccha.

He was born in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a brahmin of the Vaccha family. He heard the Master preach, entered the Order, and went to dwell at a village settlement in Kosala. Through the bhikkhus who came there from time to time he mastered the doctrine, although he did not know how to distinguish what was Vinaya, what Suttanta, and what Abhidhamma. This too, however, he learnt from questioning Sāriputta, so that, whereas other bhikkhus were versed in Vinaya, or in some other part of doctrine, he had learnt the Piṭakas by heart, even before the Council, when they were recited.¹ And soon after attaining this proficiency, he won arahantship. Thereafter he became a teacher, and one day, addressing himself as another person, he uttered this verse :

That heaped wealth by Vaccha's toil thrown up³
 By steady increment these many years,
 That doth he to the laity declare,
 Seated in honour, filled with splendid joy. (65)

¹ See *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 373 ff. It is a fixed tenet with Dhammapāla (pace other commentators) that the doctrines and discipline of his faith had existed in the infinite past in the form of three Pitakas, revived under each Buddha. Councils had but to decide on the subject-matter to be included in that form, and to 'recite' the wording of the same. Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger's translation ; P.T.S, 1912, chapters iii.-v.

² The soubriquet by which he is called means Throwing-up made-Vaccha, Vaccha the Pile-maker, to emphasize his eminent repertory of orally-learnt doctrine. The Vaccha family contributed many Theras ; hence, no doubt, the need of distinguishing. Cf. IX., XIII., LXXI., CXII., CXIII.

LXVI

Meghiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Meghiya.¹ When grown up, he entered the Order and ministered to the Exalted One while he was residing at Cālikā on the River Kimikālā. And seeing a pleasant mango-wood he desired to dwell there. Twice the Exalted One refused, but at his third request, let him go. There, however, being consumed by evil thoughts as by flies, he got no concentration of mind, so he returned and told the Master. The latter said, 'When the heart, Meghiya, is not ripe for emancipation, five things conduce thereto,' and admonished him. Whereupon Meghiya attained arahantship, and announced his aññā in this verse :

He, the great Hero, counselled me, whose mind
Hath all transcended that our minds may know.
And I, hearing the Norm, held close to Him
In loving pupillage and piety.²
The threefold wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (66)

LXVII

Ekadhamma Savanīya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Setavyā,³ in the family of a councillor. When the Exalted One visited Setavyā, and stayed in the Singsapa Wood, he went to listen

¹ Meaning 'cloudy,' 'cloud-like,' a name of happier augury in India than in more humid climates. Told more fully in *Udāna*, IV., i.

² More literally, 'dwelt near him having loved, or being devoted to.' But the idiom, to leave the world dwelling 'near' a Teacher implies the relation of pupillage.

³ In Kosala. Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 849; *Sutta Nipāta*, verse 1012; *Ang.*, ii. 87.

to him, saluting, and sitting down at one side. The Master contemplated his inclinations, and taught him the Norm in the verse :

*Impermanent indeed are all component things.*¹

And he, influenced by his past resolve (to leave the world when the Norm was revived), discerned the truth more plainly, left the world, and studying the notions of ill and of the absence of soul, acquired insight and won arahantship. And because, by one hearing of the Norm alone, his destiny was fulfilled, he acquired the name of Once-Norm-hearer (Ekadhammasavanīya). His aññā he confessed in this verse :

Burnt up in me is all that doth defile,
And rooted out all life's continuance ;
Slain utterly the cycle of re-birth :
Now is there no more coming back to be.² (67)

LXVIII

Ekudāniya.³

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a wealthy councillor. Come to years of discretion, he was convinced by the majesty of the Buddha, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and left the world. Fulfilling his novitiate, and dwelling in the forest, he came to the Master to learn. And at that time the Master, seeing

¹ See *Dialogues*, ii. 175 : 'They're transient all,' etc.

² This phrase and that of 'life's continuance' are in the Pali both *bhava*, first plural, then singular with prefix of *puna*, 'again'; lit., 'becomings' and 'becoming-again.' By the plural form the three chief modes of rebirth are understood—*kāma*-, *rūpa*-, and *arūpa*-*bhava*—as well as both *kammabhava*, or that continuity of action or character which determines future *bhava*, and the *uppatthi*-*bhava*, or resultant rebirth itself (so the Commentary). This doctrine is explained in the *Compendium of Philosophy*, especially pp. 262-264.

³ So the Commentary; in the text *Ekuddāniya*.

Sāriputta rapt in contemplation near him, broke forth into this psalm :

He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought, etc.¹

And the brother hearing him, even when once more far away, and for a long time in the forest, kept repeating the psalm ever and anon, so that it became customary to call him 'Ekudāniya,' 'One-Psalm-er.'

Now one day he got unity and concentration of mind, and so, insight expanding, he won arahantship. And dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he was once invited by the Treasurer of the Norm² to be tested in exposition, with the words : 'Friend, expound the doctrine to me.' And from long dwelling in mind over that verse, he uttered it then again :

He who doth dwell on highest plane of thought,
With zeal unfaltering, Sage, Arahant,
In wisdom's branches³ trained :—such as he is,
No sorrows may beset him, who with mind
Calm and serene and clear abideth ayē. (68)

This became the confession' of his aññā.

¹ Narrated in *Udāna*, iv. 7. *Dhammapada*, verse 259, is, by the Commentator, ascribed to the Buddha, who was commending 'Ekudāna's' fruitful use of his one stanza.

² A title given to Ānanda. See Ps. CCLX.

³ The Commentary emphasizes the mutual equivalence of *muni* (sage) and *arahā*. It also specifies the thirty-seven 'wings of wisdom' (see *Compendium*, p. 179), and the three *sikkhās*, or trainings—viz., in morals, in jhāna or mental control, and in insight or doctrine (*Ang.* i. 285). In the *Sutta-Vibhanga* of the Vinaya-Piṭaka this psalm is put into the mouth of Panthaka the Less, to whom in the present work Pa. CCXXXVI. is ascribed. The Sisters at the Sāvattihī College are represented as expecting no effective lesson when it is Panthaka's turn to teach them, since he always repeated one and the same stanza—namely, that here attributed to Ekudāniya. The Thera hears of their remarks, and forthwith gives an exhibition both of his magical power and of his knowledge of much else of the 'Buddha-word.' Whereupon he reaps the Sisters' tribute of admiration.

LXIX

Channa.

Reborn when our Exalted One was alive in the house of King Suddhodana, of a slave, he was called Channa. A contemporary of the future Buddha, he found faith in the Master when the latter returned to meet his kinsfolk. He thereupon entered the Order. Out of his affection for Him, egoistic pride in 'our Buddha, our Doctrine' arose, and he could not conquer this fondness, nor perform his duty as novice. When the Master had passed away, and his injunction that the higher penalty be imposed on Channa was carried out,¹ the latter suffered anguish, extirpated his fondness, and soon after attained arahantship. Thereafter, blissful in his emancipation, he expressed his rapture in this psalm :

I heard the Truth which that Great One had taught,
And felt its mighty virtues, known by Him
Who all things with supernal insight knew.²
The Path for winning things ambrosial
I found. Past-master He in sooth to guide
Into the way of blest security. (69)

LXX

Puṇṇa.

Reborn in this Buddha age in the Sunāparanta country, at the port of Suppāraka,³ in the family of a burgess, he was named Puṇṇa. Arrived at years of discretion, he went with a great caravan of merchandise to Sāvattthī, when the

¹ *Dialogues*, ii. 171 ; *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 881-884.

² Lit., 'by supreme knowledge which has understood everything.

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's translation), 54, n 3.

Exalted One happened to be there. And he went to hear the Master at the Vihara with the local lay-followers. There he believed, and left the world. And for a time he won favour among the teachers and preceptors by his skill in dialectic. Then one day he went to the Master, and asked for a lesson, so that he, hearing propositions pair-wise, might therewith go to dwell in Sunāparanta. To him the Exalted One uttered a 'Lion's Roar' of a lesson, to wit: 'Now there are objects, Puṇṇa, cognizable by the eye, etc.'¹ So Puṇṇa departed, and studying concentration and insight, acquired the three forms of higher cognition.

When he won arahantship he won over many people to the faith, even 500 lay-brethren and as many lay-sisters.

And as he lay near final death he confessed añṇā in this verse :

Only virtue here is highest ; but the wise
man is supreme.

He who wisdom hath and virtue,
He 'mong men and gods is victor.² (70)

¹ This is told in the Sutta on Puṇṇa's lesson (*Majjh.*, iii. 267 ff. ; *Saṃy.*, iv. 60 ; also *Divyāvadāna*, 37-39). 'Pair-wise' in the text is *yamaka*. Judging by the context in the 'lesson,' compared with the method used throughout the book of the *Yamakas* (*Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*), this means that the thesis is stated, and is then followed by either its converse or other logically contrasted form.

² This forms a verse in *Sīlavā's* poem (CCXLI., verse 619). There is a greater simplicity in this stanza, about the diction and the ideas, as of a man who had spent his life giving simple teaching in ethics to rough rustic audiences, such, as one gathers, he would meet in Sunāparanta. The Master led him to expect rough treatment at their hands (*Majjh.*, loc. cit.). The rhythm above almost parallels the Pali : *Sīlam eva idha aggan, paññavā pana uttamo*, etc.

PART VIII

LXXI

Vacchapāla.

HE was born in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a rich brahmin, and was named Vacchapāla (calf-herd). He saw when the Master met Bimbisāra, the self-submission of Uruvela-Kassapa to the Exalted One,¹ and believing, entered the Order. In a week he had so developed insight as to have acquired sixfold abhiññā.

As arahant he extolled in sheer happiness his attainment of Nibbāna in this verse :

Is there a man who can the truth discern
 Tho' it be very subtle and refined,
 Who, skilled to measure spiritual growth,
 Is yet of lowly and of gentle mind,
 Who shapes his life by rule of Them that Wake :²
 For him Nibbāna is not hard to find. (71)

And this was the Brother's confession of aññā.

LXXII

Ātuma.

Now he was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a councillor, and was named Ātuma. When he was adolescent his mother proposed to find him a wife, and consulted with kinsfolk. But he, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, said : ' What have I to do with houseways ? Now will I leave the world.' But though he went

¹ See CCX.; also *Vinaya Texts*, i. 136 ff.; *Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 114 ff.

² *Saṃsevitā-buddha-sīlinā*. 'Spiritual growth' is from the Commentary. 'Truth' or true meaning = *attha*.

to the Brethren and was ordained, yet did his mother seek to corrupt his pious wish. Then he declared his inclination in this verse :

As the new bamboo-stem, even when grown
To its full knotted height, can scarce emerge,
So I by all this bringing home of brides —
Give me your leave! Gone forth e'en now am I. (72)

And even as he stood speaking to his mother, insight grew in him, and casting off the defilements,¹ he became an arahant.

L X X I I I

Māṇava.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī, in the house of a brahmin grandee. For seven years he was reared within the precincts of home, and when at seven years old he was taken out on the estate, he saw an aged person, a diseased person, and a corpse for the first time. When he was told about these things, he was filled with dread, went to the Vihāra, heard the doctrine, and gained his parents' consent to enter the Order. Thereupon he won insight and arahantship.

Him thus having arrived thereat the Brethren asked : 'How is it you were stirred to come forth at so tender an age?' He thereupon, confessing aññā, signalized his going forth in this verse :

I saw an aged one, and one afflicted with disease,
And then I saw one dead, with all his span of life
consumed.
Thence I forth going left the world to live the other
life,
And from me put away the enticing sweets of sense-
desire. (73)

¹ *Kilesā*. This is as general a term, especially in the Commentaries, as is, in Christian writings, the word 'sin.' See *Bud. Psy.*, p. 327, n.

Now, because he left the world while so young, the Thera was always called Boy (Māṇava).¹

LXXIV

Suyāmana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sālī, as the son of a certain brahmin, he grew up expert in the Three Vedas.² Feeling repelled by domestic life, and inclined to jhāna, he met the Exalted One at Sālī, believed, was ordained, and attained arahantship as soon as his head was shaved.

Thereupon he signalized his putting away the hindrances, and confessed aññā in this verse :

With sensuous desires, with enmity,
With sloth of mind and torpor of the flesh
A brother hath no truck, and in his heart
Turmoil of any kind and doubt are dead. (74)

LXXV

Susārada.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāriputta's native place,³ in a brahmin's family, and was called Susārada

¹ One is tempted to see here no individual sharing the experiences of the Buddha, but a *type* of the earnest youthful religious mind gripped by life's realities.

² It is noteworthy that whereas there were in Dhammapāla's day Four Vedas (including the later Atharva-veda), the Buddhist schools of Eastern India—*e.g.*, Conjevaram—either did not know of this increment in brahmin literature, or observed sufficient historical accuracy to associate these original Theras with three Vedas only (see *Dialogues*, i. 109, n. 2). Sāla, or Sālaṇ, a brahmin village in Kosala, is twice mentioned as visited by the Buddha in the *Majjhima* (Suttas 41, 62; *cf.* *Samy.*, v. 144); but Sālī has, so far, not been met with elsewhere.

³ Nālaka-village in Magadha.

(Dullard), because he was slow in growing.¹ He was converted by the teaching of that Thera and in due time, as a bhikkhu, became an arahant, and confessed his aññā in this verse :

O goodly is the sight of cultured minds !
 Doubt is cut off, and wisdom grows apace.
 E'en of a fool they make an able man ;
 Hence goodly is the intercourse with saints. (75)

LXXVI

Piyañjaha.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in the family of a Licchavi noble (rāja). When grown up he was ever mad for war and an unconquered fighter, ever sacrificing what was near and dear, so that he became known as Piyañjaha—Love-renouncing. But when the Master came to Vesālī. Piyañjaha found faith in him, entered the Order, dwelt in the forest, developed insight and won arahantship. As arahant he thought, 'How different is worldly success from Ariyan success!' and by this insight confessing aññā, he uttered this verse :

Where men are arrogant, see thou lie low.³
 Where they are low in mind, lift up the heart.
 Dwell thou where other folk care not to dwell,
 Wherein men find delight, take thou no joy. (76)

¹ *Susārada* means 'very autumnal'—i.e., as it were, 'having undeveloped seed or growth,' and corresponding therefore to early spring-time in our climate. Cf. *JPTS*, 1909, p. 150; and the contrary, *visārada*, below, CCII., verse 338.

² It is a detail of interest that on the word *suvihitāna*, rendered by 'cultured' (lit., well-disposed, ordered, or practised), the Commentary remarks *anusvāralopo kato*; the terminal *ṇ* has been cut off, *gāthū-sukhatthay*, for prosodical reasons. With line 3, cf. *Sisters*, verse 213.

³ In the text the inflexion used is the third person singular of the older optative in *e*: he, one, should lie low.

LXXVII

Hatthāroha-Putta.

(Elephant - rider's Son.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in the family of an elephant-driver, as he grew up, he became proficient in managing elephants. One day, as he was training an elephant by the river, he was impelled by maturing conditions to think: 'What is all this elephant-taming to me? Better is it to tame one's self.' So he went to the Exalted One, heard the Norm, believed, entered the Order, and exercised himself in insight on a basis of ethical meditation. And as a skilful elephant-trainer restrains savage ways by his hook, so he by meditation suffered not his thoughts to wander away from his exercise, saying this verse:

Once roamed this heart a-field, a wanderer
Wherever will, or whim, or pleasure led.
To-day that heart I'll hold in thorough check,
As trainer's hook the savage elephant.¹ (77)

And so acting, his insight expanded, and he realized arahantship.

LXXVIII

Meṇḍasīra.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāketa, in the family of a burgess. Because his head resembled that of a ram, he acquired the nickname of Meṇḍasīra (=ram's head). While the Exalted One was staying at Sāketa in the Añjana Wood, Meṇḍasīra came to believe in him, entered the Order, and practising calm and insight,

¹ This goes to form one verse in the interesting poem ascribed to Tālapuṭa (CCLXII., 1180). 'Trainer's hook,' more accurately 'grasper of the hook.'

acquired sixfold abhiññā. He could thus recall former births, and concerning these he uttered this verse :

Full many a round of rebirth have I run
Nor found a clue.¹ Lo ! now from me who sore
Have suffered is the load of ill withdrawn. (78)

And this was his confession of aññā.

LXXIX

Rakkhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the township of Devadaha, in the family of a Sākiyan noble (rāja), he was named Rakkhita (Guarded). He was one of those five hundred young nobles who, as having renounced the world, were given by the Sākiyan and Koliyan rājas as escort to the Exalted One. The latter had converted these youths by the lesson of the Kuṇāla-jātaka²—a lesson against the danger of sensuality. And connecting this lesson with his exercises, he developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his own renunciation of the corruptions,³ he uttered his verse confessing aññā :

All passion have I put away, and all
Ill will for ever have I rooted out ;
Illusion utterly has passed from me ;
Cool am I now. Gone out all fire within. (79)

¹ In the text, 'I found not'; Commentary, 'Not getting the knowledge how to turn or roll back' (*nivattakaññāṇa*)—i.e., the unending course of rebirth.

² *Jātaka*, vol. v., No. 536. The introduction relates the giving of the escort.

³ *Kilesā*. See above, LXXII., n. 1.

L X X X

Ugga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala, at the town of Ugga, as the son of a councillor, he was named Ugga. When he had attained to years of discretion, he went to hear the Master, who had come to that town, found faith in him, entered the Order and finally won arahantship. He thereupon set forth his severance of the round of rebirth. confessing aññā in this verse:

All action wrought by me and bringing birth,
Whether 'twas of great potency or small,
Shattered and ended is it utterly.

Now is there no more coming back to be. (80)

PART IX

LXXXI

Samitigutta.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvathī, as the son of a brahmin, he was named Samitigutta.¹ Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order and attained entire purity of conduct. As the consequence of his action in a former life, he was attacked by leprosy and his limbs crumbled off piece by piece. He dwelt in the infirmary.² And one day the General of the Norm went on his round of inquiry, asking after this and that sick bhikkhu. Seeing Samitigutta, he gave him an exercise on the contemplation

¹ 'Guarded-by-concord, or by-union.'

² He is represented as having said of a Silent Buddha, 'This leprous shaveling is concealing something, methinks,' and spitting; again, as a Wanderer, he loses his temper with a lay-adherent, saying, 'May you become a leper!' That Sāvathī College should include an infirmary (*gilānasālā*) is interesting, if to be expected. The visitor is Sāriputta. Cf. verses 1054-1056.

of feeling, saying : ' My friend, in so far as there is what we call process of the five constituents, the whole of suffering is a matter of feeling. But if just the constituents be absent, suffering is absent.' So saying, he went on ; but the patient, set up by the lesson, developed insight and realized sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he remembered the evil action in former births for which he was now overcome by disease. And extolling the fact that all was now done with, he uttered this verse :

Whatso of evil wrought in bygone days,
In former births by me, just here and now,
'Tis that whereby I lie and suffer sore--
But other ground for ill' exists no more! (81)

LXXXII

Kassapa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a brahmin of north-western origin,¹ he was named Kassapa. His father died while he was a child, and his mother brought him up. When one day he heard the Exalted One preach at the Jeta Grove, he was then and there impelled by maturing conditions to enter the First Path. And going to his mother, he asked her permission for his ordination.

Now when the Master had ended the rainy season with the Parivāra festival and was starting on his country tour, Kassapa was anxious to go with him. And first he went to take leave of his mother. She let him go with this admonition :

To any place where alms are easy got,
Where'er 'tis safe and free from peril, there
Go thou, my boy ; vex not thy life with care. (82)

¹ *Udicca-brūhmaṇassa*. Cf. *Jāt.*, i. 324 ; *Milinda*, ii. 45, n. 1.

Then the Thera thought: 'My mother wants me to go where I shall be free from care. Come then, for me 'tis right to win a place entirely and absolutely free from care.' And, striving, he set up insight and soon won arahantship. Thereupon, inasmuch as his mother's words had been his spur in winning it, he repeated that very verse.

LXXXIII

Siha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Mallas, in the family of a rāja, he was named Sīha (Leo). Seeing the Exalted One, he was attracted by him, saluted him and sat down at one side. The Master discerned the trend of his mind and taught him the Norm, so that he believed, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise, dwelt in the forest. His thoughts were distracted by many objects and he could not concentrate.¹ The Master saw this and, standing over him, uttered this verse :

O Siha ! persevere in earnestness ;
 By night and day abide unfaltering.
 Engender the good Norm within thy heart.
 Swiftly renounce that piled up base of birth.² (83)

Hereby the Thera was able to expand insight and win arahantship. And, confessing aññā, he repeated the verse.

¹ Lit., 'to him one-point-ness comes not'; the usual psychological term, to which we can only approximate in our 'concentration.' Cf. *Compendium*, pp. 237, 240 f.

² *Samussayo*, lit., 'accumulation.' Commentary = 'the passions binding to personal existence.' Used for the body, or whole living aggregate. Cf. *Sisters*, verse 22.

LXXXIV

Nīta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of a brahmin, he was called Nīta. When grown up he thought: 'These Sākiyan recluses are very lucky in that they are well provided with all necessities. It is a happy life, that of a member of the Order.' So he entered it to get pleasure from it, paid scant attention to his exercise, ate his fill, spent the day in idle talk, and slept all night long. But the Master discerned the ripeness of his antecedents, and gave him this verse in admonition:

Thou all the night to slumber given o'er,
 Who lov'st the day 'mid chattering crowds to
 spend:—
 Dost deem that thou this way at any time,
 Poor silly fool, of Ill shalt make an end?¹ (84)

Agitated by the Master's words, he settled to develop insight, and not long after attained arahantship. He then confessed aññā in repeating this verse.

L X X X V

Sunāga.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the village of Nālaka as the son of a brahmin, and was a friend of Sāriputta before the latter left the world. Hearing the General of the Norm preach, he too left the world, being established on the plane of insight.² Anon he won arahantship. Thereupon, in course of teaching the bhikkhus, he confessed aññā in this verse:

Expert to grasp the image conjured up,³
 Versed in the secret of the life detached,
 Practised in contemplation, clear in mind:—
 Well may he win to rapture unalloyed. (85)

¹ *Dummedha dukkhass' antaṇ karissanti pi Pāli.* Cy.

² *Dassanabhūmiyan patipphito*, a divergence from the usual phrases.

³ In the self-hypnosis of jhāna. See *Compendium*, p. 54.

LXXXVI

Nāgita.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, and named Nāgita. When the Exalted One was staying in that place, he preached the Lump of Sweetness discourse.¹ Thereby Nāgita was induced to enter the Order, whereupon he attained arahantship. Then, thrilled with rapture over the truth of the Master's teaching and the effective guidance of the Norm, he burst out in this psalm :

Outside our Order many others be, who teach
A path never, like this one, to Nibbāna leading.
But us the Exalted One, the blessed Master's self
Instructs as 'twere by just the palm o' th' hand out-
spreading.² (86)

LXXXVII

Paviṭṭha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, in a brahmin's family, and being naturally inclined to the life of a recluse, he became a Wanderer. His training ended, he wandered forth, and heard of Upatissa and Kolita (= Sāriputta and Moggallāna) joining the Buddha's Order. And he thought: 'That methinks must be a

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, 18th Sutta, outlined (at Kapilavatthu) by the Master, and expounded by Maha-Kaccāna (see Ps. CCXXIX.), on the self-mastery of the arahant. This is apparently not the bhikkhu of the Kassapa clan (*Dialogues*, i. 193 ff.; *Ang.* iii. 31, 341; iv. 341). Perhaps the latter was known as N. Kassapa, to distinguish.

² The Commentary has: 'Our Master *sayan*'—that is, *sayanbhū* *nūṇena nūṭaṇ*, 'self-taught' knower by knowledge, or, 'himself'—urged by great compassion, teaches his own doctrine, like one who, to make sport (? *vilāsapattiyā*), shows *āmalaka*-seed in the palm of his hand. Is an ancient game like *morra* alluded to?

better Order since such great sages enter it.' And he went and heard the Master, believed, and was ordained. Soon after he realized arahantship, and thus confessed aññā :

The factors of the self are throughly seen ;
 All bases of new being broken down.
 Slain utterly the cycle of rebirth.
 Now is there no more coming back to be.¹ (87)

LXXXVIII

Ajjuna.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in the family of a councillor, and named Ajjuna. When grown up he came into contact with the Jains, and entered their Order very young, thinking among them to win salvation.² But finding there nothing to satisfy him,³ he met the Master, believed, entered his Order, and anon won arahantship. Then in rapture at his attainment, he burst forth in this verse :

O wonder that I found the power to draw
 Myself forth from the waters on dry land.
 Borne drifting on the awful flood I learnt
 To know the Truths, their truth to understand. (88)

● LXXXIX

Devasabha.⁴

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the rāja of a district,⁵ he succeeded to his title when quite young. But

¹ Cf. LXVII.

² Lit., Ambrosia, *Amata*, or Nibbāna.

³ Lit., no pith or kernel, the usual metaphor for no truth or genuineness.

⁴ Ps. C. is by another Devasabha.

⁵ *Maṇḍalika-rāja*. This term occurs in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 47. I have no evidence of the comparative rank attaching to the title.

when being awakened (*buddho*) he went to hear the Master teach, he resigned his title, entered the Order, and anon won arahantship. Then joy arose in him when he reflected on the corrupting things he had put away, and he burst forth in this psalm :

Transcended is the miry bog of lusts.
Past doom infernal am I safely come
From flood and fetter dire to liberty,
And shed is every form of self conceit.¹ (89)

XC

Sāmidatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a brahmin, he was called Sāmidatta. When arrived at years of discretion, he heard of the Buddha's puissance, and went with laymen to the Vihāra to hear him. He believed and entered the Order, but from the immaturity of his knowledge he continued for a little while without application. Finally, on again hearing the Master teach, he became devoted and intent, and won arahantship.

Later on the bhikkhus asked him : 'How now, friend, have you reached the state of the elect ?'² And he, showing the guiding efficacy of the doctrine, and his own attainment in the Norm and minor doctrines (*dhammānudhamma*), confessed aññā in this verse : ●

The factors of my life well understood
Stand yet a little while with severed root.
Slain is the round of living aye renewed.
Now is there no more coming back to be.³ (90)

¹ *Mūna*. Nine forms are distinguished (*Vibh.*, p. 389). Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 299, which gives the first three only.

² *Uttari-manussadhammo*, or, of the 'supermen.'

³ Cf. LXXX. and LXXXVII.

PART X

XCI

Paripuṇṇaka.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, in the family of a Sākiyan rāja. And because of the completeness of his gifts and fortune he became known as Paripuṇṇaka.¹ His means allowed him to enjoy at all times food of a hundred essences. But he, hearing that the Master partook of mixed scraps, said : ' Though he be delicately bred, the Exalted One lives thus, contemplating the bliss of Nibbāna. Why should we in our greed become epicures ? Let us, too, seek for that bliss of Nibbāna ! ' Thus agitated he renounced his home, entered the Order, and, taking his exercise of meditation on the body from the Exalted One, he in due course attained arahantship. Thereupon he burst forth into this psalm :²

Never as 't were some dish of hundred essences,
 Could I o'errate what I partook to-day,
 When He, the all-seeing Gotama,³ the Buddha blest,
 Himself revealed to me the holy Norm. (91)

XCII

Vijaya.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in a brahmin's family, and named Vijaya. When he had learnt the brahmin wisdom, he left the world as an ascetic,

¹ Meaning 'fulfilled' or 'perfected,' with *ka*, agent-noun affix.

² The metre is here not that of the usual śloka.

³ Note the frank but infrequent mention of the Master's name, a usage not countenanced by later Buddhists. In this work it occurs eight times, in the *Sisters* twice (cf. *Vinaya Texts*, i. 228). Cf. the corresponding reticence among many Episcopalian Christians.

and dwelt in the forest practising jhāna. Then he heard of the Buddha's mission and was glad, and went to salute and hear him. Thereupon he entered the Order and soon won arahantship, confessing aññā in this verse:

In whom the intoxicants are dried up;
Whose happiness dependeth not on food;
Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked
And Liberty:—as flight of birds in air
So hard is it to track the trail of him.¹ (92)

XCIII

Eraka.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of an eminent person, and was named Eraka.² He had beauty and charm, so that in all that he had to do he was in the most highly favoured position for doing it. His parents wedded him to a maiden suitable for beauty, virtue, years, and accomplishments. But anon, because it was his final life, he grew agitated at continued being, and sought

¹ Intoxicants = *āsavā* (see Ps. XLVII.). Food (*āhāro*), represents all the four necessities provided by the laity (food, clothing, lodging, medicine). Commentary. 'Liberty' represents the Third Sign of 'Freedom from Hankerings,' or Content. As an arahant, his mind dwells only on ideas and desires void of, and unmarked by, the three features—Ill, Impermanence, Soul-delusion. By 'trail' (*padan*) is meant destiny—namely, rebirth. Part of this gāthā, and approximately the same Commentary, occur in *Dhammapada*, verse 92 (Commentary, ii. 171-173), ascribed to the Master when addressing Belaṭṭhasīsa (cf. Ps. XVI.). The Commentary cited enumerates all forms of rebirth; *Dhammapāla* gives only 'destiny' in purgatory, and the rest. Both say only, it is as impossible to declare what is his destiny, as to say where, or how, birds will alight.

² *Eraka* seems to have been a kind of plant, perhaps a grass, woven into blankets or mats (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 35, n. 8; *Jātaka*, iii. 91; *Sisters*, lxii. 485). A town is called Eraka-grass in *Majjh.*, i. 87 = *Milinda*, i. 276. Cf. also *Dhp. Com.*, iii. 281.

the Master. After hearing him teach the Norm, Eraka left the world. And the Master gave him an exercise, but for some days he remained mastered by evil thoughts. Then the Master, knowing the course of his thoughts, admonished him in a verse. And he, on hearing it, thought: 'Unfitly have I acted; I, fool, that I should have continued full of bad thoughts when learning from such a Master.' And in distress he devoted himself to gaining insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he confessed aññā by repeating that verse:

Woeful are worldly wishes, Eraka!
 No weal in worldly wishes, Eraka!
 Whoso desireth joys of sense desireth ill.
 Whoso desires not joys of sense desires no ill.¹ (93)

XCIV

Mettaji.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha as the son of a brahmin, he was named Mettaji.² Grown up, he saw the evil of worldly desire, and became an ascetic dwelling in the forest. Hearing of the Buddha's advent, and impelled by antecedent causes, he sought the Master and asked him concerning his progress and regress. The answer given convinced him that he should enter the Order,

¹ The austere jejune simplicity of this gāthā is not poetic, and is closely followed in the translation. *Kāmā* (worldly wishes; joys of sense) is not easy to equate. Buddhism defines this plane of life, and animal life, and the lower heavens, too, as all 'sphere of *Kāma*.' 'Unregenerate desire' is perhaps the nearest rendering. 'Desire' alone is not correct, for there is the *dhmma-chanda*, or desire for higher things, also characterizing life on the *kāmvacara* plane. Dr. Neumann has 'Lust'; our word 'lust' is degraded by specialization. 'Pleasure' should not be so degraded, for there is pleasure (*sukha*) not entailing woe.

² Conqueror by affection.

whereupon he won arahantship. And in this verse he extolled the Master :

All glory to the Exalted One,
Our splendid Lord, the Sākiyas' son !
For he the topmost height hath won,
And well the Norm supreme hath shown. (94)

XCV

Cakkhupāla.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, as the son of a landed proprietor named Mahā-suvaṇṇa, and received the name of Pāla.¹ He was also called Pāla major, because his younger brother was called Pāla minor. And the parents bound the sons in domestic bonds. But the Master came to the Jeta Grove, and there Pāla major heard him, and leaving his brother to manage the property entered the Order. After five years of novitiate, he went with sixty bhikkhus to perfect his studies. And they chose a woodland spot near a border village, where the villagers were lay-followers, and he, dwelling in a leaf-hut, practised the duties of a recluse.

He was attacked by ophthalmia, and a doctor prescribed for him. But he did not follow the advice, and the disease grew worse. 'Better,' he thought, 'is the allaying of the moral torments (*kilesā*) than that of eye-disease.' Thus he neglected the latter and worked at his insight, so that eyes and torments perished at the same time. And he became a 'dry-visioned' arahant.²

Now the village patrons asked the bhikkhus what had become of the Thera, and, hearing of his blindness, they

¹ The full name means Eye-guardian, the father's Great-golden. The story is given in somewhat ampler detail and slightly varied diction in the *Dhammapada Commentary* on the opening verses of that anthology. Pronounced Chakkhu-.

² See *Compendium*, p. 75.

ministered to his wants full of compunction. Then those bhikkhus having also won arahantship, they proposed that they should return to Sāvattthī to salute the Master; but the Thera said: 'I am weak and blind, and the journey is not without risk. I should hinder you. Do ye go first and salute for me the Master and the great Theras, and tell Pāla minor of my state that he may send a servant to me.' At length they consented to go, after taking leave of their patrons and providing him with a lodging. And they carried out his bidding, and Pāla minor sent his nephew Pālaka. And the bhikkhus ordained Pālaka, because the road was not safe for a solitary layman. He went and announced himself to the Thera, and set out with him. Midway, near a village in the forest, a woodcutter's wife was singing. And the novice was smitten by the sound, and, bidding his uncle wait, went and dallied with her. The Thera thought: 'Now I heard a woman singing, and my novice stays long. Is he not evilly employed?' The youth returned, saying: 'Let us go, sir.' And the Thera said: 'What! hast thou been vile?' The novice at length confessed, and the Thera said: 'One so evil shall hold no staff for me. Get thee hence!' 'But the way is perilous, and you are blind. How will you go?' 'Fool! even if I lie down and die, yet will I get on, but not with such as thee.' Then he uttered this verse:

All blind am I and perished are mine eyes ▲
 And through the jungle's wilderness I fare.
 E'en then I'll go, and were it lying down,
 But not with child of evil as my mate. (95)

Then the other, conscious of his evil action, weeping with outstretched arms, plunged into the forest. But the efficacy of the Thera's virtue made Sakka's throne hot, and the god, in the shape of a man journeying to Sāvattthī, took his staff and brought him that evening to Sāvattthī to the Jeta Grove. And Pāla minor ministered to him all his days.

XCVI

Khaṇḍasumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Pāvā in the family of a Malla rāja,¹ he was named Khaṇḍasumana (Jasmine), because on his birthday the jasmine was in bloom.² He heard the Exalted One while the latter was staying in Cunda's mango grove at Pāvā,³ entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he remembered his own former births: how he had offered a plant of jasmine at the tope of Kassapa Buddha when all the plucked flowers went to form the king's own offering; and, discerning how this act had guided him to Nibbāna now, he said this verse:

One flower in pious offering brought
Did win me years on years of pleasant life
In heavenly worlds; the balance hath availed
To bring me perfect peace and purity.⁴ (96)

XCVII

Tissa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Roguva in a rāja's family, at his father's death he succeeded to the title. As an absent ally of King Bimbisāra, he sent him presents of jewels, pearls, and robes. The king sent him in return the life of the Buddha on a painted panel, and the Conditioned Genesis on a gold plate specially inscribed.⁵

¹ See p. 10, n. 3.

² *Sumitna* is jasmine; *Khanda* is broken, fragmentary. The jasmine is called *khaṇḍa-sakkara*, broken-sugar.

³ See *Dialogues*, ii. 137. Pronounced Chunda.

⁴ Lit., 'by the remainder am I *nibbuto*' - i.e., 'I have *parinibbāna* of the *kilesa*'s,' entire going out or quieting away of the ten kinds of moral corruption or torment. See above, LXXII., n.

⁵ Early historians were not over-careful in the matter of attributing civilization of their own day to an earlier age; nevertheless, writing

When he saw these, because he had resolved under former Buddhas and because it was his last birth, he pondered on going forward and turning back, setting the order of the doctrine in his heart and growing uneasy till he came to this conclusion: 'Now have I seen the likeness of the Exalted One, and have learnt the order of his doctrine at the same time. Full of ill are worldly desires. What have I to do with the life in houses?' And he abdicated, entered the Order, and, taking his earthen bowl and followed, as was Prince Pukkusāti,¹ by a lamenting populace, he left the town and went to Rājagaha. There he dwelt in the Sabbasonḍika Cave, and visited the Exalted One. And learning of him, he won arahantship. Thereupon alluding to his experiences, he uttered this psalm:

Renouncing costly vessels wrought in bronze,
In gold and lac, I grasped this earthen bowl.
The second time was I anointed then. (97)

was certainly known in India in early Buddhist days, even though the use of it might (through lack of suitable book-material) be limited to the brief contents of tablets. As to the contents written, the historical critic should bear in mind that a ministry, growing in public esteem and success for forty years, may well have seen its founder's life and leading doctrines written and circulated, even without the printing press.

¹ Tissa's story is, indeed, so like a brief résumé of the full and pleasant chronicle of the friendship between Pukkusāti, king of Takasīlā and Bimbisāra, recorded by Buddhaghosa in the Commentary on *Majjh.*, iii. 237 ff., that it seems not unlikely the two accounts bifurcated out of one. Pukkusāti was gored by a fierce cow on the eve of his entering the Order, and so is not inscribed among the Theras. Bimbisāra's gifts differ a little in either story. To Pukkusāti he sent a description of the 'Three Gems'—Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha—and on the gold plate he had inscribed various tenets, Satipaṭṭhānas, Eightfold Path, thirty-seven Wisdom Factors, but not the *Paṭioca-samuppāda*. There is no commoner name in Indian literature than Tissa, but this ex-king of Roguva is not identifiable with any other of the known Tissas. The verse recurs in Ps. CCLIV.

XCVIII

Abhaya (2).

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family, he was called Abhaya. After he had heard the Master teach and had entered the Order, he went one day for alms into the village,¹ and saw a woman attractively dressed. This disturbed his mental composure, so that he returned to the Vihara thinking: 'Looking on a visible object has corrupted me. I have done amiss.' Thus repudiating that consciousness, he so developed insight as to win arahantship.

Thereupon he reviewed his moral slip and his recovery in this verse:

Sight of fair shape bewildering self-control,²
 If one but heed the image sweet and dear,
 The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow
 And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
 The deadly taints³ that bring new living near. (98)

XCIX

Uttiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Uttiya.⁴ Come to years of discretion, he witnessed the power of the Buddha when the latter came to visit his kin,⁵ believed in him, and entered the Order. As a student he visited the village one day for alms, and on the way he heard a woman singing, and his concentration gave way, desire and passion arising in him. Checking himself by the power of reflection, he

¹ So in XIX. and XXIX. This is clearly not the Abhaya of XXVI.

² *Sati* = mindfulness, heedfulness, control of thought.

³ *Āsavā*. Cf. verses 794 ff.; *Saṇḍya*, iv. 78.

⁴ The Commentary (Br.) has both Uttiya and Uttariya.

⁵ See above, LXIII.

entered the Vihāra much agitated, and seating himself for siesta-meditation, he so developed insight that he won arahantship. Thereupon he mentioned his release from the ills of rebirth, through disgust at the corruptions, in this verse :

Sound of sweet voice bewildering self-control,
If one but think upon the image dear,
The heart inflamed in feeling doth o'erflow
And clinging stayeth. Thus in him do grow
The deadly taints that bring Saṃsāra¹ near. (99)

C

Devasabha (2).²

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Devasabha. When grown up he believed when he saw the Master appeasing the quarrel between Sākiyans and Koliyans,³ and was established in the Refuges. Again, he went when the Master was staying at the Banyan Park, this time entering the Order. He won arahantship, and dwelling on the bliss of his emancipation, he burst forth in rapture with this psalm :

Whoso supreme endeavour doth put forth,
Whose range is in the fourfold heedfulness,⁴
He with fair flowers of Liberty enwreathed,
Sane and immune, will reach the perfect peace.⁵ (100)

Thus the Thera confessed aññā.

¹ Pronounced Saṃsāra, 'continual going'; the stream or cycle of rebirth, new life and death.

² See LXXXIX.

³ See Kunāla-Jātaka, Introduction, *Jātaka*, v. 450, and above, LXXXIX.

⁴ See *Compendium*, p. 179 ; *Dialogues*, ii. 827 ff.

⁵ Lit., will *parinibbānate* void of *āsava*'s. The Commentary says, perfected by both *sa-upādisesa* and *anupādisesa* Nibbāna (cf. *Compendium*, p. 153, n. 5). 'Sane and immune' is used throughout these verses to express the awkward term *an-āsavo*.

PART XI

CI

Belaṭṭhakāṇi.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī in a brahmin's family, he was named Belaṭṭhakāṇi. When after hearing the Master teach he had entered the Order, and was practising calm and insight in a forest of Kosala, he grew very slothful and was also rough of speech. Hence he did not evoke the right state of mind for his exercises. Now the Exalted One considered his maturing insight, and stirred his heart by this admonitory verse :

Though layman's life be left, yet if the task
Remain undone, the mouth harsh furrows plough,
The paunch be full, the mind all slack with sloth :—
Like a great hog with provender replete,
He cometh back, again, again to birth.¹ (101)

Then he, seeing the Master as if seated before him, was thrilled with agitation at his discourse, and establishing insight, was not long in winning arahantship. And through the divers expressions of the psalm, he declared his aññā.

CII

Setuccha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the rāja of a district,² he was unable to maintain his country's independence, and lost his throne. Wandering about the land unhappy, he saw and heard the Exalted One, entered the

¹ See XVII.² *Maṇḍala-rājā*. See p. 88, n. 5.

Order, and won arahantship. And inveighing in his psalm against worldliness, he thus in divers ways confessed aññā :

By vain conceits deluded, and their minds
Corrupted by the varied things of sense ;
Flushed by their gains, by dearth thereof upset,
They fail to win the concentrated mind. (102)

CIII

Bandhura.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Silāvati¹ as the son of a councillor, he was named Bandhura.² And going one day on some business to Sāvathī, he went with the laity to the Vihāra, heard the Master, believed and entered the Order, and in due time won arahantship. Now to render service to his rāja and so show his gratitude for his success, he went to Silāvati and preached the Norm to the rāja, declaring to him the Four Truths. The rāja became a convert, built a great Vihāra in the township, calling it Sudassana, and bestowed it on the Thera with many honours and offerings. The latter handed over everything to the Order, and going on his rounds as before, conceived the wish to go to Sāvathī. The bhikkhus said : ' Sir, stay with us. If you lack in what you require, we will make it good.' He replied : ' I have no need, friends, of anything out of the way ; I keep going on anything I get. I am content with the savour of the Norm,' and uttered this psalm :

Nay, 'tis not this I need, who live in bliss,
Regaed by sweetest nectar of the Norm.
Drinking those drops peerless, supreme, shall I
Forsooth my tongue with poison now acquaint ? (103)

¹ A town of the Sākiyas (*Saṅg.*, i. 117 ff.).

² The Burmese Commentary calls him Bandhana and Sandhaya. One Singhalese MS. calls him Sandhava.

CIV

Khitaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin's family, he heard, when grown up, of the great supernormal powers of Moggallāna the Great.¹ And he thought: 'I, too, will become so gifted.' And impelled by prior causes he entered the Order under the Exalted One, and by exercising himself in the training for calm and insight, acquired in due course sixfold abhiññā. Then he, enjoying the various forms of supernormal movement, continued to bestow favour on beings by the wonder of those acts and by the wonder of training.² When the bhikkhus asked him: 'Khitaka, friend, do you employ supernormal power?' he uttered this verse:

Buoyant in sooth my body, every pulse
Throbbing in wondrous bliss and ecstasy.
Even as cotton-down blown on the breeze,
So floats and hovers this my body light. (104)

CV

Malitavambha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the town of Kurukaccha as a brahmin's son, he was converted by the preaching of Pacchabhu, the great Thera,³ and entered the Order. Working at exercises for insight, he abode in any place where, of the four necessities of life,⁴ only suitable food was hard to get; but where such food was easily got and

¹ *Of. Moggallāna's poem, CCLXIII.*

² These are the first and third of the three sorts of wonders which the Buddha claimed to know (*Dialogues*, i. 277, *cf.* 88). The second was the 'wonder of manifestation'—i.e., thought-reading.

³ A name not met with elsewhere. The episode may be of later date. The name itself—lit., Epigonus—is possibly significant.

⁴ The four necessities (*paṇḍāra*) for a bhikkhu were food, raiment, lodging, and medicine. Not too little ease nor too much comfort for the holy life is the maxim. The subject, as Dr. Neumann reminds us, is expanded in *Majjh.*, 18th Sutta.

the rest difficult to find, he went away. So continuing, because he had the antecedents, and was of the nature of the Great Men,¹ he expanded insight, and in due course became an arahant. Thereupon, reflecting on his attainment, he broke forth in this verse :

Where I am straitened let me never dwell,²
 Let me go thence, if life too pleasant prove.
 Ne'er will the man with eyes to see abide
 Where aught may hinder in the quest supreme. (105)

CVI

Suhemanta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Border country as the son of a wealthy brahmin, he went to hear the Exalted One teach the Norm in the deer park at the town of Sankassa.³ Leaving the world he joined the Order, and became a reciter of the Three Piṭakas,⁴ becoming in due course possessor of sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he thought : ' I have won all that a disciple may win. What if I were now to do a service to the brethren ? ' So he lectured to them and solved their difficulties. And one day he addressed them and other intelligent persons concerning himself in this verse :

A hundred tokens show, a hundred marks
 Betray wherein the hidden meaning⁵ lies. ♀
 Whoso hath eyes to see but one, a dullard is,
 Who can discern the hundred, he is wise. (106)

Thus the Thera magnified before the Brethren his attainment of analytic knowledge that was so excellent.

¹ *Mahāpurisajāṭikātūya*. This is the only instance where this expression occurs. I do not see the special bearing of it in Malitavambha's case. A ' Great Man ' was either a Buddha or a great emperor.

² The tense throughout is the optative. ' Quest,' or ' welfare ' (*attha*).

³ Mentioned by Fa-Hien as a thriving Buddhist centre. The name exists to this day, the village being 45 miles north-east of Kanij (Legge's *Travels of Fa-Hien*, 1886). ⁴ Cf. LXV., n. 2.

⁵ *Attha* = *ñeyya*, Cy.

NOTE.—On previous page, n. 4, read 17th Sutta.

CVII

Dhammasava.

Reborn in the kingdom of Magadha in a brahmin's family, and impelled by maturity of conditions, he preferred the religious to the household life. Seeking the Exalted One on the South Hill,¹ he heard him teach the Norm, whereupon he entered the Order, and in due course became an arahant. And reflecting with joy upon his career, he broke forth in this psalm, confessing aññā :

I pondered well, then sought the life that lay
Beyond the walls and bonds of household life.
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done.² (107)

CVIII

Dhammasava's Father.

He followed his son's example, saying : ' My son left the world when he was young ; why should not I leave it ? ' So he, too, sought the Master, and in due course realized arahantship and uttered his psalm :

A hundred years was I and eke a score,
When forth I went and knew my home no more.
The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (108)

CIX

Sangha-Rakkhita.³

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family at Sāvattihī, he found faith, and entering the Order took an exercise, and joined another bhikkhu, both dwelling in the forest. Not far from where they abode, a doe in the thicket had

¹ *Dakkhiṇagiri (Vinaya Texts, ii. 207, n. 2).*

² Ps. XXIV.

³ = Guarded by the Order.

given birth to a fawn. Tending it, her love kept her from going far from it, and lacking grass and water close by she was famished. Seeing her the Thera said: 'Ah, surely this world bound in the bonds of craving suffers sore, unable to cut them!' And taking this feeling as a goad, he developed insight and won arahantship. Thereupon, discerning that his companion was cherishing many wrong thoughts, he admonished him through the parable of the doe, and uttered this verse:

Not yet doth he, though in retreat he dwell,
 Con o'er the system by that Blest One (planned)
 Who showed compassion for our highest good.
 Still are his powers relaxed and uncontrolled,
 Like woodland doe all tender grown and weak.¹ (109)

Now hearing these words that bhikkhu grew agitated, and expanding insight, in due course won arahantship.

CX

Usabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family, in the kingdom of Kosala, he found faith in the Master when the latter accepted the gift of the Jeta Grove. Finishing his novitiate, he dwelt in the forest at the foot of the mountain. Now at the time of the rains, the clouds had emptied themselves in the crests of the hills and trees; bushes and creepers became filled with dense foliage. Then the Thera, going forth one day from his cave, saw the loveliness of the woods and the mountains, and considered seriously: 'These trees and creepers are unconscious, yet by the season's fulfilment they have won growth. Why should not

¹ This stanza is a notable example, among others, of the extraordinary difficulty attending translation in the absence of the Commentary. Lack of the simple little narrative has landed Dr. Neumann in a very different interpretation, with a strained use of the word *pākatindriyo*. *Pākata* = *asayvuta* (Commentary). Cf. *Milinda*, ii. 72.

I who have attained a suitable season win growth by good qualities?'¹ And he uttered this verse, which became his confession of aññā, for he forthwith strove and won arahantship :

The trees on high by towering cloud refreshed
With the new rain break forth in verdant growth.
To Usabha who for detachment longs,
And hath the forest sense of things,² doth come
[From this responsive spring] abundant good. (110)

PART XII

CXI

Jenta.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha at the village of Jenta, as the son of the rāja of a district.³ While still young, his mind, impelled by maturity of conditions, inclined to leaving the world, and he turned the matter over and wondered what he should do. So doubting he heard the Master preach. From that day he became devoted to the religious life, and entered the Order. Happily working and with swift insight, he realized arahantship; then reflecting on his attainment and how he had been perplexed, he joyously uttered this verse :

Hard is the life without the world, and hard
In sooth to bear house life. Deep is the Norm;
Hard too is wealth to win. Thus difficult
The choice of one or other how to live.
Behoves me bear unceasingly in mind
[And see in everything] IMPERMANENCE. (111)

¹ Cf. Keble's autumnal pendant to this mood :

*' Yet stay awhile and see the calm leaves float
Each to its rest beneath their parent shade,' etc.*

² = *araññasaññino*.

³ *Maṇḍalikarājassa*. Cf. p. 88, n. 5.

CXII

Vacchagotta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a wealthy brahmin, and because there were four Theras named Vaccha, he was called Vacchagotta.¹ Come to years of discretion, and expert in brahmin learning, he, as a seeker after emancipation, found no pith in those studies, and became a wandering recluse. As such he met and questioned the Master. Satisfied with the answers, he entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.² Reflecting with joy upon his career, he uttered this psalm :

The Threefold Lore is mine, and I excel
 In Jhāna-ecstasy, adept in calm
 Of balanced mind. Salvation have I won,
 And all the Buddha-ordinance is done. (112)

CXIII

Vanavaccha (2).

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a wealthy brahmin at Rājagaha and named Vaccha, he found faith when King Bimbisāra conferred with the Master. And entering the Order he attained arahantship. As arahant he dwelt in the woods devoted to detachment; hence he came to be called Woodland Vaccha (Vanavaccha). Now it happened that the Thera, in order to do a kindness to his kinsfolk, went to Rājagaha, and dwelt there a little

¹ The others were called, one, Pilinda-Vaccha (IX.) and two, Vana-Vaccha (XIV. and CXIII.).

² The two conversations occur in *Majjh.*, i., 72nd and 78rd Suttas. Vacchagotta's ordination is also mentioned, and how the Buddha tells him to proceed to the study of Calm and Insight, whereby sixfold abhiññā might be acquired. Cf. *Compendium*, part ix.

space, telling them of his mode of life. They begged him, saying: 'Sir, do us the kindness of dwelling in the near Vihāra, and we will wait upon you.' The Thera showed them in this verse both his love of the mountains and the life of detachment:

Cragg where clear waters lie, a rocky world,
 Haunted by black-faced apes and timid deer,
 Where 'neath bright blossoms run the silver streams:
 Those are the highlands of my heart's delight.¹ (113)

This verse became the Thera's confession of añña.

CXIV

Adhimutta.²

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family at Sāvattī and named Adhimutta, he became discontented at finding no pith in the brahmin wisdom, and while he was seeking to escape during his last span of life, he saw the majesty of the Buddha at the presentation of the Jeta Grove. Entering the Order, he in due course won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished those bhikkhus dwelling with him who were very corpulent, in this verse:

If ye to this gross body give such heed,
 Greedy its pleasures to enjoy, the while
 Life's energies do ebb away, O whence
 Shall come perfection in the holy life? (114)

¹ The only bond between the two Vacchas seems to be their common brahmin stock and their love of nature. The poem goes to make up those ascribed to Sankicca and Kassapa the Great (CCXI., CCLXI.). Cf. also that by the Kapilavatthu Vaccha of the Woods (XIII.). It is doubtful whether the two legends do not derive from an identical source. But cf. CXII.

² Cf. CCXLVIII., also ascribed to an Adhimutta of Sāvattī.

CXV

Mahanāma.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family, and named Mahanāma,¹ he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and gaining faith, entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he dwelt on the hill called Nesādaka. Unable to prevent the rising up of evil thoughts and desires, he exclaimed : 'Of what worth is life to me with this corrupted mind?' And disgusted with himself he climbed a steep crag of the mountain, and made as if he would throw himself down, saying, 'I will kill him,' speaking to himself as to another and uttering this verse :

Lo thou ! how to a wretched end art come
By this steep crag, this famous Hunter's Hill,
Its many crests begirt by sāl-tree woods,
[And all its glens with tangled verdure] clothed ! (115)

In the act of upbraiding himself thus, the Thera evoked insight and won arahantship. And this verse became his confession of aññā.

CXVI

Pārāpariya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family at Rājagaha, he became proficient in the three Vedas. And being of the Pārāpara clan, he was called the Pārāpariyan,

¹ Another instance where the Chronicle makes clear lines otherwise inexplicable. There is no hint given that this Thera (whose name means 'Great-Name') is identical with Mahā-Nāma the Sākiyan, one of the Buddha's first (lay) converts, or with the Licchavi of *Ang.*, iii. 76. The hill in question has not been met with in other books as yet, but, judging from the Commentary, it seems to have been a most charming resort, well supplied with shade, water, and medicinal herbs. With his desperate mood, cf. Vakkali (CCV.), Sappadāsa (CCXV.), and Sīhā (*Sisters*, Ps. xi.).

and taught mantras.¹ He saw the wisdom and majesty of the Master at the Rājagaha Conference, and entered the Order, in due course winning arahantship. Reflecting on his career, he broke forth in joy with this psalm :

Avoiding truck with contact's sixfold field,
Guarding the gates of sense, master of self,
The general root of misery vomiting,
From every poison-taint am I immune. (116)

This verse became his confession of aññā.

CXVII

Yasa.

Reborn in this time of our Exalted One as the son of a very wealthy councillor at Benares, he was exceedingly delicately nurtured, and had three mansions for the different seasons, all of which is told in the Khandaka.² Impelled by antecedent conditions, he saw one night the indecorum in his sleeping attendants and, greatly distressed, put on his gold slippers and left both house and town, gods opening the doors for him. So he went towards Isipatana, exclaiming : 'Alas ! what distress ! Alas ! what danger !' Now at that hour the Exalted One, who was staying at Isipatana in order to do him kindness, was walking to and fro out of doors, and said : 'Come, Yasa, here is there neither distress nor danger.' Yasa filled with joy put off his slippers, and sat down beside the Exalted One. The Master talked to him by a graduated discourse, and when he had finished teaching the Truths, Yasa became a convert. And while the Exalted One taught the Truths to his father who had come to seek him, Yasa realized arahantship.

Then the Exalted One held out his right arm to Yasa, saying, 'COME, BHIKKHU !' And at his merely saying the words, Yasa's hair was shorn two fingers' length, and he

¹ Cf. CCXLIX., CCLVII.

² *Vinaya Texts*, i. 102 ff.

was equipped with the eight necessities.¹ Reflecting on his career, he rejoiced over those words calling him to his present state, 'Come, bhikkhu !'² and uttered this psalm :

With perfumed skin and delicately clad
And head ablaze with gems, nathless my way
I found and made the Threefold Lore my own ;³
And now the Buddha-ordinance is done. (117)

CXVIII

Kimbila.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, and named Kimbila,⁴ he inherited immense wealth. The Master saw the maturity of his insight while staying at Anupiyā, and in order to arouse him, conjured up a beautiful woman in her prime, and showed her to him passing to old age. Then Kimbila greatly shaken uttered this verse :

As bidden by some power age o'er her falls.
Her shape is as another, yet the same.
Now this my self, who ne'er have left myself,
Seems other than the self I recollect. (118)

¹ This is a mythical elaboration of the older tale in the *Vinaya*. In the Order the learner or pupil had to remove his shoes when waiting on his teacher (*ibid.*, i. 66 (62), 154).

² Cf. Bhaddā's joy at these words, a special honour to a candidate (*Sisters*, Ps. xlvi., also CCXXVI. below and others).

³ The point lies in his swift attainment, *as a layman*.

⁴ Also spelt (Br.) Kimila and Kiminila. He was converted, with five other young Sākiyan nobles, in the first week of the Buddha's mission, according to the *Vinaya* narrative. There the method adopted for his conversion is not given. Kimbila is represented in the *Majjhima* as maintaining his early friendship with the senior Thera Anuruddha, dwelling with him, and a third, Nandiya (Ps. XXV.), now in this wood or park, now in that (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 809, iii. 228 ; *Majjh.*, i. 205, iii. 155 ; see also CXXXVIII.). Anupiyā was a town in the Malla republic (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224).

He thus, considering the fact of impermanence, was yet more strongly agitated, and going to the Master heard the Norm, believed, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon he emphasized how he had formerly looked on things as permanent by repeating the verse, thereby confessing aññā.

CXIX

Vajji-putta (2).

(The Vajjian.)

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Licchavi rāja at Vesālī, he became known as the Vajjian's son, because his father was one of the Vajjians.¹ While yet a youth and engaged in training elephants, he, inclined by fulness of cause to seek Release, went to the Vihāra at the hour when the Master was to preach, and having heard, entered the Order, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

At a later time, shortly after the Master had passed away, Vajjiputta formed an agreement with the chief Theras to preserve the Dhamma intact, and travelled with them from place to place. One day he saw the Venerable Ānanda, who was still a student only, surrounded by a large congregation, teaching them the Norm. And to call forth endeavour in him to reach the higher Paths, he uttered this verse :

Come thou and plunge in leafy lair of trees,

Suffer Nibbāna in thy heart to sink !

Study and dally not, thou Gotamid !

What doth this fingle-fangle mean to thee ?² (119)

¹ This is apparently not the Vajji-putta of LXII., who was not of noble rank.

² For this late attainment of the goal by Ānanda, the Buddha's chief attendant, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 378. The verse occurs also in *Saṅg*, i. 199, where woodland sprites note Ānanda's preoccupation with worldly interests—a tendency that was entirely amiable in itself, and

Hearing this and speech of others, dispelling poisonous odours, Ānanda grew agitated, and most of the night walked to and fro meditating. Then, with insight worked up, he entered his dwelling, and in the act of lying down on his couch, he won arahantship.

CXX

Isidatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Avanti at Veḷugāma,¹ as the son of a caravan guide, he became (by correspondence) the unseen friend of Citta, a house-father at Macchikasāṇḍa. The latter wrote to him on the excellence of the Buddha, and sent him a copy of the system. This so moved him that he sought ordination under the Thera Kaccāna the Great. In due course he acquired six-fold abhiññā. Thereupon he had a mind to visit the Buddha, and taking leave of the Thera, came in course of time to the Middle Country,² and had an interview with the Master. The latter asked him the question, 'How goes

which is noticeable in the many episodes related of him. To these other admonishers the Chronicle refers. Ānanda was of the Gotama clan, cousin to the Buddha. The quaint term *biḷibhikā* is thus paraphrased *vilivikriyā* (lit., sticky-sticky-action ?), the reiteration being intended as a deprecation of his preoccupation with the interests of the many to his own spiritual hindrance. For Ānanda's psalm, see CCLX.; cf. also CLXXV.

¹ Avanti lay north of the Vindhya Mountains, north-east of Bombay. It was one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose, and was later absorbed into the Moriyān Empire. Its capital was Ujjenī. Veḷugāma (Bamboo-village) is not, so far, met with in other works (see *Buddhist India*, p. 1 ff.). Citta, whose home lay near Sāvattthī, was one of the most eminent lay-supporters of the Buddha. On this further instance, in the later tradition, of the doctrine being propagated by writing, cf. XCVII. On Kaccāna, see CCIX. Pronounced Chitta, Kaccāna.

² The Ganges Valley (Rhys Davids, 'The Middle Country,' *JRAS*, 1904, p. 83 ff.).

it with you, bhikkhu? Are you prospering?' And he replied: 'Exalted One, from the time when I was admitted into your Rule, all sorrow and pain left me, all sense of peril was calmed.' And he declared aññā in making that confession, uttering this verse:

The factors of my life well understood
Stand yet a little while with severed root.¹
Sorrow is slain! that quest I've won, and won
Is purity from fourfold Venom's stain.² (120)

¹ = verse 90, first half.

² *Asavas*.

CANTO II

PSALMS OF TWO VERSES

PART I

CXXI

Uttara.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of an eminent brahmin and named Uttara, he graduated in brahmin lore, and became renowned for his breeding, beauty, wisdom and virtue. Vassakāra, a leading minister of Magadha, seeing his attainments, was desirous of marrying him to his daughter. But he with heart set on release declined, and he attended the teaching of the General of the Norm.¹ Winning faith, he entered the Order and fulfilled his novitiate, waiting upon Sāriputta.

Now the Thera fell ill, and Uttara set out in the morning to seek a physician. On his round he set down his bowl on the banks of a lake and went to the water to wash out his mouth. Then a certain thief, pursued by the police, escaped from the town by the chief gate, and running by, dropped his stolen jewels into the novice's bowl, and fled. Then, as the latter came back to his bowl, the king's men passed in pursuit, and seeing the bowl, said: 'This is the thief! He has done the burglary!' And binding his arms behind, they brought him before Vassakāra, the brahmin, and punished him.

Then the Exalted One, contemplating the ripeness of his insight, went thither, and placing a gentle hand, like dropping of crimson gold, on Uttara's head, spake thus: 'Uttara, this is the fruit of previous action. Come here to pass, it

¹ Sāriputta, chief of the disciples till his death.

is to be accepted by thee through the power of reflection,' and so taught him the Norm according to his need. Uttara, thus ambrosially anointed by the touch of the Master's hand, was transported with joy and rapture, and through the ripeness of his insight and the charm of his Master's teaching, so cast off all impurity that he attained sixfold abhiññā. Rising clear of the stake,¹ he stood in the air, performing a miracle out of compassion for others. To the amazement of all, his wound was healed. When asked by the bhikkhus, 'Brother, how were you able, suffering such pain, to apply insight?' he said, 'Since I clearly saw, Brothers, the evil of rebirths and the nature of the conditioned, it was not the lesser evil of present pain that could hinder me from increasing insight, and achieving attainment':²

There is no life that lasteth evermore,
Nor permanence in things from causes come.
They are reborn, the factors of our life,
Thereafter they dissolve and die away. (121)
Since *this* the evil claiming all my thought,
Sooth am I one who doth not seek to be.
Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
Of th' intoxicants have I now made an end.³ (122)

CXXII

Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of the chaplain to king Udena of Kosambī, he was named Bhāradvāja.⁴

¹ *Sūlatō utthahitvā*. He was presumably bound or impaled, or otherwise suffering punishment.

² *Viseso*.

³ *I.e.*, 'I have won nibbāna and arahantship.' Commentary. —verse 458.

⁴ Bhāradvāja seems to have been the name of a brahmin clan, though here given as a personal name (*S. Vibh.*, p. 6; *Saṅg.*, i. 160). Hence either Piṇḍola is the personal name, or it is a soubriquet, analogous to our 'chunks,' associated with his earlier greedy habits.

Having learnt the three Vedas, and teaching the hymns with great success to a school of brahmin youths, the work became distasteful. And leaving them, he went to Rājagaha. Seeing there the gifts and favours bestowed on the Order of the Exalted One, he entered the same. He overcame intemperance in diet by the Teacher's methods, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

He thereupon announced before the Exalted One that he would answer the questions of any Brethren in doubt concerning path or fruit, thus uttering his 'lion's roar.'¹ Wherefore the Exalted One said of him : ' The chief among my disciples who are lion-roarers is Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja.'

Now there came to him a former friend, a brahmin of a miserly nature. And the Thera persuaded him to make an offering, handing it over to the Order. And because the brahmin believed the Thera was greedy and self-seeking, the latter set himself to instruct him in the privileges of religious gifts, saying :

Not without rule and method must we live.

But food as such is never near my heart.

' By nutriment the body is sustained ' :²

This do I know, and hence my quest for alms. (123)

' A [treacherous] bog ' it is :—the wise know well :

These bows and gifts and treats from wealthy folk.

'Tis like steel splinter bedded in the flesh,

For foolish brethren hard to extricate.³ (124)

His perfected self-mastery is the theme in *Udāna*, iv. 6. He is persecuted for preaching by King Udena (*Jāt.*, iv. 375), but is subsequently consulted by the latter, who reforms his ways (*Saṅg.*, iv. 110). He is rebuked for cheaply performing a miracle (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 78). Two untraced stanzas of his are quoted (*Milinda*, ii. 385, 345).

¹ The usual idiom for an affirmation of competence or readiness to act (*Ang. Nik.*, i. 28).

² Included in the orthodox dictum : ' All beings are sustained by nutriment ' (*Dīgha Nik.*, iii. 211 ; *Khuddaka Pāṭha*).

³ See verses 495, 1053. Cf. *Jātaka*, iv. 222 (text).

CXXIII

Valliya.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of an eminent brahmin, he was named Valliya. While adolescent and in the power of the senses, he formed virtuous friendships, whereby he came to the Exalted One, found faith and entered the Order, soon thereafter establishing insight and winning arahantship. Reflecting on the past with its worldly objects and desires, and on how, by the Ariyan Path, he now had turned from all that, he thus declared aññā :

Within the little five-doored hut an ape²
 Doth prowl, and round and round from door to door
 He hies, rattling with blows again, again. (125)
 Halt, ape! run thou not forth! for thee
 'Tis not herein as it was wont to be.
 Reason doth hold thee captive. Never more
 Shalt roam far hence [in freedom as of yore]. (126)

CXXIV

Gangātīriya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as a citizen's son, he was named Datta.³ And when, in his domestic

¹ Cf., LIII, and CXLIV.

² *Chitta* (consciousness), is, in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* (ii. 9), pictured as the restless, varying leaps of a tree-monkey. The Commentary applies this simile to the present one of the ape under control. The ape is found in Tibetan-drawings of the stages of (past, present, and future) life as the symbol of *viññāṇa*, the synonym for consciousness, or sense-cognition (see *JRAS*, 1894, p. 367 *ff.*). Apparently the Tibetan lamas had forgotten the tradition, or gave an explanation *which they knew would interest* their medical interlocutor, Major Waddell, or the latter evolved a Western interpretation out of their imperfectly understood descriptions). Cf. verse 1111 in Ps. CCLXII.

³ = Donatus. His story—how he came to take his mother and his sister as his wives, not knowing his relation to either—is told in the

life, he transgressed through ignorance, then discovered his offence, anguish seized him so that he left the world. Distressed at his deeds, he adopted a course of austerity, and dwelt on the bank of the Ganges, making himself a tent of palm-leaves. Hence he became known as Gangā-tīriya (Ganges-sider). And he resolved to speak to no one. So he kept silence for a whole year. In the second year, a woman of the village where he sought alms, wishing to find out whether he was dumb, spilt milk as she filled his bowl. And he let fall the words: 'Enough, sister.' But in the third year, after strenuous effort, he won arahantship. Thereupon he declared aññā by word of mouth, extolling his past procedure in these verses:

On Gangā's shore three palm-tree leaves I took
And made my hut; my bowl like funeral pot
Wherewith men sprinkle milk upon a corpse;
My cloak from refuse of the dust-heap culled.¹ (127)
Two years, from one rain-season till the next,
I [there abode], nor spake a word save once.
So till the third year passed—then the long night
Of gloom asunder burst [and broke in light]. (128)

Chronicle to the Sisters' Psalms, pp. 112, 115. The allusion here to his incest is so delicately or vaguely worded that it needs the explanation afforded by the Sister-chronicle. The Pali is as follows: *Gharū-vāsāṇ vāsanto agamaniyaṭṭhānabhāvaṇ ajānitvā vitikkamaṇ katvā puna āgamaniyaṭṭhānabhāvaṇ katvā*.

¹ On such austerities, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 89. The bowl here is not a skull (*chavasāṇ*), but is described in the Commentary as *matānaṇ khirūsecanakunḍa-sadiso*, 'like a milk-sprinkling pot for the dead'—a sort of *memento mori* (cf. Neumann). It is just possible that the text was originally *chavasāṇa me patto*, as the idiom runs in the Vinaya, but such skull-bowls were forbidden. There is greater sobriety and dignity in the austerities of this Indian (Edipus than in the brutal self-mutilation of the Greek king.

C X X V

Ajina.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in the family of a certain poor brahmin, he was wrapt at birth in an antelope's skin, and was hence named Antelope (Ajina). Growing up in poverty, he saw the Jeta Grove presented, and the power and majesty of the Buddha. And gaining faith he left the world, and not long after acquired super-normal thought. When he had moreover won arahantship, he, in consequence of past deeds, remained unhonoured and unknown. And some worldly novices among the bhikkhus despised him for this. Then the Thera agitated them with these verses :

E'en though a man have gained the Triple Lore,
 Have vanquished death and purged th' intoxicants,
 Yet, let him be to fame unknown, poor fools
 May in their ignorance look down on him. (129)
 But let him get the good things of this world,
 Then though he be of evil breed, natheless
 Service and honour will they render him. (130)

CXXVI

Melajina.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares, in a nobleman's family, and named Melajina, he became distinguished for learning and accomplishments, and renowned in all the country. When the Exalted One stayed at Benares, in Isipatana, Melajina went to hear him preach the Norm; and gaining faith, he entered the Order and won arahantship.

And when the bhikkhus asked how far he had acquired supernormal qualities, he uttered a 'lion's roar':

When I had heard the Master preach the Norm.
 No doubts my mind could thenceforth entertain
 In him all-knowing and invincible. (131)
 Nor in a mighty hero like to him,
 Lord of the caravan,¹ driver of men,
 Peerless and grand, nor in the Path, the Rule,²
 Can ever want of faith disturb my soul. (132)

CXXVII

Rādha.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Rājagaha, as a brahmin, he was in his old age unable to perform his various duties. Being passed over,³ he went to the Master and revealed his needs. The Master, contemplating his graduation in essential conditions, ordered Sāriputta to admit him. Soon after that he won arahantship. And thereafter, keeping near the Master, he became pre-eminent among those who, deriving from the Master's teaching,⁴ could speak impromptu.

¹ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 32. *Satthavūhe*, there rendered 'lord of the pilgrim band,' is here more literally reproduced.

² *Magge, patipadāyaṃ vī*—i.e., 'the Ariyan [Eightfold] Path, and the Precepts, and so on' (Commentary). The verses may not seem an apposite reply; but if the *Compendium of Philosophy* (pp. 65, 210, 213) be consulted, it will be seen that the expulsion of all forms of doubt was held to be a very essential preliminary to transcending normal experience.

³ *Paṭikkhitto*.

⁴ The passage assigning him pre-eminence is then quoted from *Ang.*, i. 25. Cf. with Vangīsa's similar but not identical pre-eminence, Ps. CCLXIV. This Thera is possibly identical with the 'venerable Rādha' addressed in many short discourses of the *Saṃyutta* (iii. 79, 188 ff.; iv. 48 f.).

Now one day seeing how want of self-training occasioned governance by the passions, he exhorted thus :

E'en as into an ill-roofed house the rain
 Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
 So into mind by exercise untrained
 Doth passion ever pierce and penetrate. (133)
 And as into a well-roofed house no rain
 Doth pierce and penetrate continually,
 So into mind by calm and insight trained
 Doth passion never pierce and penetrate.¹ (134)

CXXVIII

Surādha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the younger brother of the aforesaid Rādha, he followed his elder brother's example, and became an arahant also. To show the saving guidance of the Rule, he declared aññā thus :

All coming back to birth is now destroyed.
 The Conqueror's Rule hath guided all my ways.²
 That which we call the Net have I put off ;³
 The lust that leads to life is rooted out. (135)
 And the great quest, for which I left the world,
 Forsaking home a homeless life to lead,
 Even that quest and high reward I've won,
 For I am he whose bonds are riven in twain.⁴ (136)

¹ 'Exercise,' 'calm and insight'—in the text *bhāvanā*—the collective name for the systematized effort in self-training of the disciple who seeks perfection (*Bud. Psy.*, p. 261, n. 2). Specified as 'calm and insight' in the Commentary. Cf. *Compendium*, p. 202 ff.

² 'The holy life of the Path has been lived by me' (Commentary).

³ Cf. *Dhammapada*, verse 251 ; *Saṃy.*, iii. 83. Commentary, 'net = error, ignorance.' More usually it = craving, or sense. Surādha is possibly the listener in one discourse of the *Saṃyutta* (iii. 79)

⁴ CCX., 880.

CXXIX

Gotama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin family,¹ and named Gotama, he fell, when still a youth, into bad company, and gave all that he had to a courtesan. Repenting thereafter of his vicious ways, he beheld a vision of the Master seated—of Him who had discerned the progress of his mind and his attainment of the conditions. He with heart assured went to the Master, was taught, and believed. Entering the Order, he won arahantship, even as the razor touched his hair. And while he was pondering the bliss of jhāna and of fruition, a lay-companion asked him concerning his property. He confessed how he had lived unchastely, and declaring añña by his present purity from passion, said :

At ease they sleep, the wise and pure, who ne'er
Are bound to womankind, for these must aye
Be kept 'neath watch and ward, and among them
'Tis ever hard to learn the truth of things.² (137)
War to the knife with thee, O lust, we've waged.
Now are we quit and free of debt to thee.
Now fare we onward to that Going-out,³
Where at our journey's end we weep no more. (138)

¹ Not identical with the other Gotama Theras of CLXXXIII., CCXXXIX.

² There is a nice, discriminating touch about the Commentary's remark: 'Now to him [the friend] who is still bound to *such women*, the Thera, to show his own complete extirpation of that lust, says the second verse.' The use of the first person *plural* is a rare feature in Buddhist hymns. It must refer to a sodality of freed minds, and not to the speaker and his quondam friend, since the latter had still his worldly ties.

³ Nibbāna in the original. Since the Thera is an arahant, this can only refer to his Parinibbāna, the complete extinction of his life spatially figured—his *anupādisesa-nibbāna*, says the Commentary, however that was conceived.

CXXX

Vasabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, as the son of a Licchavi rāja,¹ he was won over by the majesty of the Buddha when the latter went to Vesālī, and left the world. In due course he won arahantship, and thereafter, gracious to his patrons, he did not reject the necessities they provided, but enjoyed what he received. The common-minded deemed him self-indulgent, but he continued taking no account of them.

But near him dwelt a fraudulent bhikkhu, who deceived the people by pretending to lead the simple life, content with little, and was honoured by them. Then Sakka, ruler of the devas, discerned this, and came to Vasabha Thera and asked: 'Your reverence, what is it that an impostor does?' The Thera, in rebuke to that evil-doer, replied:

He erst doth work destruction to himself;
 Thereafter doth he ruin other men.
 Most thoroughly works he mischief to himself,
 E'en as decoy-bird² by its own deceit. (139)
 No brahmin he, by outward colour judged.
 By inner hue shall ye the brahmin know.
 He in whom deeds show evil, even he
 Is swarth of face, O consort of Sujā.³ (140)

PART II

CXXXI

Cunda the Great.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, at Nālaka village, as the son of the brahminee Rūpasārī,

¹ See above, p. 54, n. 4.

² Cf. *vitayya-kakkaro*, the decoy jungle-cock in *Jāt.*, ii. 161.

³ Sujampati, a title given to Sakka, whose consort-goddess was Sujā. On the spiritual complexion, cf. *Digha-Nikaya*, Suttantas iii., iv., and xxvii; *Sutta Nipāta*, Vāsetṭha-Sutta.

and younger brother of Sāriputta,¹ he followed the latter into the Order, and after arduous, strenuous effort won arahantship. And glorying in his attainment and in solitude of life, he uttered this psalm :

The will to learn maketh of learning growth ;
Learning² makes insight grow, and by insight
We know the Good ; known Good brings bliss
along. (141)

Seek ye the lonely haunts remote from men.³

Practise the life of liberty from Bonds.

If there ye come not by your heart's desire.

Dwell with the Brethren, mindful and controlled. (142)

CXXXII

Jotidāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a wealthy brahmin, in the Pādiyattha country, he was named Jotidāsa.⁴ When come of age he saw Kassapa the Great one day going his round for alms, and entertained him in his house, and heard him discourse. On the hill near the village he himself had a great vihāra built for the Thera, and supplied him with the four requisites. Moved thereafter by the Thera's teaching he left the world, and not long after won the sixfold abhiññā. After ten years, during which he learnt

¹ Cf. *Saṃy.*, iv. 251 ; v. 161 ; *Psalm*s, I., p. 96. With his brother he visits Channa (*Majjh.*, iii. 263 ; *Saṃy.*, iv. 55). He was one of the nine or ten chief Theras. Three discourses are ascribed to him in the *Anguttara Nikāya*, addressed to the bhikkhus, and preaching modesty and mutual tolerance, especially between the erudite and the more mystically inclined (iii. 355).

² Lit., *hearing*, significant of an era of oral instruction and mnemonic recording.

³ The Master's own advice to him (*Majjh.*, i. 46).

⁴ Mahā-Kassapa lived near Rājagaha (CCLXI.), but neither Jotidāsa nor Pādiyattha-janapada have been met with in other works.

the three Piṭakas, with special proficiency in the Vinaya-Piṭaka,¹ and waited on the fraternity, he set out with many bhikkhus to salute the Exalted One at Sāvattthī. On the way he entered a theologian's park, and seeing a brahmin practising the fivefold austerity,² he asked : ' Why, brahmin, do you not burn otherwise in a different heat ? ' The brahmin annoyed, answered : ' Master shaveling, what other heat is there ? ' The Thera replied :

*Anger, and envy, and all cruel deeds,
And pride, and arrogance, and wanton strife,
Craving, and ignorance, and lust of life :
These burn away and let thy body be !³*

and therewith taught him the Norm. And all those theologians besought him for ordination.

On leaving Sāvattthī he went to his former home, and admonished his relatives in these verses :

They who in divers ways by deeds of force
And violence,⁴ rude and rough-mannered folk,
Do work their fellow-creatures injury,
Thereby they too themselves are overthrown,⁵
For never is th' effect of action lost. (143)
The deed a man doth, be it good or ill,
To all his doing is he verily the heir. (144)

¹ Cf. Puṇṇā, who learnt them in a former birth (*Sisters*, p. 116; again above, LXV.). We may concede thus much to the plausibility of the Commentator's statement—that a threefold body of doctrine would be taking shape during the founder's long ministry.

² I.e., surrounded by four fires, with the sun beating on him above.

³ I have not traced these lines.

⁴ On the word *vegghamissena*, etc. (cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 107, n. 8), the Commentary has : ' Tugging the head, etc., by rein, strap, etc. ; blows given by hand, foot, etc. '

⁵ *Kīranti*. Dr. Neumann has *sāen*, sow, as if scattering seed. The Commentary ignores any such metaphor, and has : as they have made suffering for others, so by others are they made to suffer—*tath' eva aññehi kiriyanti dukkhaṃ pāpiyanti*. Cf. *abhikiranti* in verse 598.

CXXXIII

Heraññakāni.

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of one who was a tenant-in-chief of the King of Kosala, and in command of bandits,¹ he succeeded to his father's position at the latter's death. Converted on seeing the Buddha accept the Jeta Grove, he put his younger brother in his place, left the world, and soon after won arahantship. He thereupon sought to turn his brother to a better life, and on seeing him attached to it, urged him in these verses :

The days, the nights flit by and pass away.
 Life is arrested, and the span
 To mortals given is consumed and fails,
 Like water in the shallow mountain streams. (145)
 But evil actions still the fool commits,
 Nor understands how dire the aftermath,
 Till comes the bitter hour of action's fruit. (146)

Hearing the Thera's homily, the brother besought the king's leave, and left the world, and not long after found salvation.

CXXXIV

A

Somamitta.

• Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares, in a brahmin's family and named Somamitta, he became an expert in the three Vedas, but was converted by the Thera Vimala² and took orders. He dwelt near the Thera, fulfilling his duties. But the latter was given to sloth and torpor. And Somamitta, thinking 'Who can be virtuous near a sluggard?'

¹ *Cora-vosāṣako*, one having highwaymen or dacoits at his bidding, whether to employ, or to suppress, is doubtful.

² Cf. the Vimala of CLXXXV., who was also of Benares.

went to Kassapa the Great,¹ and attending his lectures, established insight, and soon after attained arahantship. Thereupon he rebuked Vimala in these verses :

As one who, mounted on a puny plank,
Is in mid-ocean whelm'd beneath the waves,
So even he of blameless life doth sink,
When thrown together with the man of sloth :
Wherefore from such an one keep well apart
The sluggard and the poor in energy. (147)
Dwell thou with them who live aloof.
With wise, with noble souls who have renounced,
Who in rapt contemplation ever strive.² (148)

Hearing him, Thera Vimala was deeply moved,* and establishing insight, bestirred himself to win salvation, the which he will be seen hereafter to attain.

CXXXV

Sabbamitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a brahmin of Sāvaththī, and named Sabbamitta, he saw, at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, the wondrous power of the Buddha, and entering the Order he obtained a subject for exercise and dwelt in the forest. After the rains he went into Sāvaththī to salute the Buddha, and on his way there lay a fawn caught in a trapper's net. The doe, though not in the net, kept near from love for her young, yet dared not come close to the snare. The fawn, turning hither and thither, bleated for pity. Then the Thera : 'Alas ! the suffering that love brings to creatures !' Going further he saw many bandits wrapping a man they had captured alive in straw, and

¹ I.e., to Rājagaha (CCLXI.).

² Repeated in CLXXXV.

about to set fire to it. Hearing his cries, the Thera, out of his distress at both these things, uttered a verse within hearing of the bandits.

Folk are bound up with folk and cling to folk.

Folk suffer scathe from folk and wreak the same. (149)

What boots thee then this folk, and brood of folk?

Let the folk go and get thee gone from them.

Who as they go injure so many folk.¹ (150)

So saying, he forced his way to insight, and won arahantship. But the brigands, listening to his teaching, were moved in heart and renounced the world, practising the Norm in principle and in detail.

CXXXVI

Mahākāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the town of Setavyā, in the family of a merchant, he was named Mahākāla.² When come of age and dwelling at home, he took five hundred carts of merchandise to trade with to Sāvattthī. While resting there with his men in the evening, he saw the laity going with perfumes and garlands to the Jeta Grove, and went with them. There he heard the Master preach the Norm, believed, and entered the Order. Deciding on cemetery-contemplation, he dwelt in the charnel-field. And one day a woman named Kālī, employed as crematrix,³ in order to give the Thera an object-study, cut off from a recently cremated body both thighs and both arms, and breaking the head into the semblance of a milk-bowl, arranged all

¹ I read *gacchantāṃ*.

² So the Commentary; not *°kāla*. The name thus means 'big dark one,' or, in the convenient Italian nomenclature, *Neraccio*. Kālī, too, is 'brunette.'

³ In *Jāt.*, v. 449, we meet with a man pursuing this trade.

the members together, placed them where the Thera studied for him to look at, and sat down at the side. The Thera seeing this exhorted himself in these verses :

Kāḷi, woman broad and swart of hue as blackbird,
Now hath broken off a thighbone, now another ;
Now hath broken off an arm, and now another ;
Now the skull hath broken off as 'twere a milk bowl,
Made them ready and is seated. (151)

He who witless doth not understand, but maketh
Cause for life renewed, comes back again to sorrow.
Wherefore he who knows creates no more new
causes.

May I ne'er so lie again with scattered mem-
bers !¹ (152)

Thus wholly self-mastered, the Thera brought forth insight
and won arahantship.

¹ The account of Kāḷi's activity closes with an odd half line, as if to mark, by a pause, the abrupt transition from the Thera's half-amused notice of her grisly service, to the solemn quest of the End of Sorrow on which he is bent. This is a good instance of a poem which is scarcely intelligible without the Commentary's help. *With that help*, the more literal the translation, the more intelligible is the verse. Without it we have but to look at Dr. Neumann's guessing and forced rendering, making Kāḷi a wanton, and the good bhikkhu a prurient-minded fellow, to realize how relatively sane and simple even a scholastic exegesis may be. The practice of Asubha-jhāna, or meditation on a base of some unlovely object, was recommended from the early days of the Sangha, and, to judge by the accompanying illustration of a Ceylonese bhikkhu of to-day, is still practised. *Cf. Bud. Psy.*, p. 69, n. 2.



ASUBHA-JHĀNA IN CEYLON.

' May I ne'er so lie again with scattered members !'

To face p. 124.

CXXXVII

Tissa.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin's family, and named Tissa, he became an expert in the Vedas, teaching the mantras to five hundred brahmin boys, and winning the highest praise and renown. When the Master came to Rājagaha, Tissa saw the Buddha-majesty, and believed and entered the Order, thereafter winning arahantship through established insight. So also he won praise and renown.

Now certain worldly-minded bhikkhus noting the attention paid to the Thera were unable to endure it. The Thera knew this, and declared the evil in such attentions and his own detachment therefrom in these verses :

Many the foes he gets, the bhikkhu shorn,
 Wrapt in his robe, to whom the world gives gifts
 Of food and drink, raiment and where to lodge. (153)
 Let him then, knowing all the bane herefrom,
 The fearsome peril in the world's regard,
 Taking but little, free from lusting's taint,
 Wary and mindful, hold his onward way. (154)

Then those bhikkhus straightway sought the Thera's forgiveness.

CXXXVIII

Kimbila.

His meeting with the Buddha, his emotion and his leaving the world are told in Canto I., the verse beginning, 'As bidden by some power.'² Here the Thera tells how he dwelt

¹ Clearly quite a different Tissa from either of the foregoing Theras so named. Cf. Ps. XXXIX., XCVII.

² His story having been given in Ps. CXVIII., the Chronicle begins at once with the circumstances resulting in the gāthā.

fraternally with his comrades, the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Bhaddiya, Sākiyan rājas :

Where lies the Eastern Bamboo Grove we dwell,
Sons of the Sākiyans, comrades [all and true].
No little wealth have we renounced for this,
Contented with whatever fills our bowl. (155)
Quickened and ardent is our energy,
Earnest and resolute [our heart's intent],
Ever we boldly press toward [our goal].
Love of the Norm our [sure and sole] delight,
All worldly loves by us forsworn outright. (156)

CXXXIX

Nanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of Rāja Suddhodana and of Great Pajāpatī,¹ and a joy to his kin, on his naming day he was named Nanda. When Nanda was of age, the Master, rolling the Wheel of the Norm, came out of compassion to Kapilavatthu. Making a shower of rain the occasion, he told the Vessantara Jātaka.² On the second day, by the verse 'Rise up,' he established his father as a Stream-winner; Pajāpatī also by the verse, 'Follow after a holy life,' and the rāja further, as a Once-returner. On the third day, when seeking alms at the coronation-hall where congratulations were being offered to Prince Nanda on his wedding, the Master handed the prince his bowl and wished him luck. And he, taking the bowl, followed the Master to the Vihāra, who there ordained him, though Nanda wished it not.

¹ See Ps. I., p. 6 f. Nanda is called Nandiya above (Ps. XXV.). This single verse may have been incorporated from some such collection of Māra anecdotes as those in the Bhikkhuni-Saṃyutta (see Windisch, *Māra und Buddha*, p. 184), and the form for his name used there left unaltered. The difference is only that between, e.g., Joy, Joyous.

² Jāt., vi., No. 547; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 124.

From that time, knowing that Nanda was oppressed by his distaste, the Master trained it away, so that Nanda, by thoroughgoing meditation, established insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter, enjoying the bliss of liberty, he said: 'O excellent method of the Master, whereby I was drawn out of the bog of rebirth and set on Nibbāna's strand!' And joying in his reflections he uttered these verses:

Heedless and shallow once my thoughts were set
 On all the bravery of outward show;
 Fickle was I and frivolous; all my days
 Were worn with wanton sensuality. (157)
 But by the Buddha's skilful art benign,
 Who of sun's lineage cometh, was I brought
 To live by deeper thought, whereby my heart
 From the great swamp of endless life¹ I drew. (158)

And the Exalted One, discerning how eminently he was trained in self-control, declared him before the Order to be chief therein among his disciples,² even therein conferring that distinction to which the Thera, in past ages, had once aspired.

CXL

Sirimat.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in a burgess's family, he was named Sirimat (Faustus) because of his family's good fortune and constant success. His younger brother, as increaser of that good fortune, was named Sirivaḍḍha (growth of luck).³ They both saw the majesty of the Buddha when the Jeta Grove was presented, believed, and entered the Order. Sirivaḍḍha, though at first he won no abnormal powers, was honoured and feted by laity and

¹ *Bhava*, becoming. *Saṃsārapanke nimuggaṇ*. Cy.

² He is so distinguished in *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25.

³ Evidently not the Thera of Ps. XLI.

recluses. But Sirimat, through defective karma, was little honoured ; nevertheless, exercising himself in calm and insight, he soon won the sixfold abhiññā.

Now the ordinary bhikkhus and novices, not knowing Sirimat was an Ariyan, continued to disparage him and to honour his brother. Then the Thera, blaming their faulty judgment, said :

Others may laud and honour him

Whose self is uncontrolled.

Surely amiss their praise is given,

Since self is uncontrolled. (159)

Others may chide and censure him

Whose self is well controlled.

Surely amiss their blame is given,

Since self is well controlled. (160)

Then Sirivaḍḍha, hearing him, was agitated, and establishing insight, not long after he also completed his salvation. And they who had blamed the Thera sought his forgiveness.

PART III

CXLI

Uttara.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāketa,¹ in a brahmin's family, he was named Uttara. Convinced by the twin-miracle at the Gaṇḍamba tree at Sāvattthī,² whither some business had taken him, he was induced to leave the world when the Master, at Sāketa, preached the Kālaka Park discourse.³ Going with the Master to Rājagaha, he there developed insight and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Returning again to Sāvattthī to wait on the Buddha, the bhikkhus asked him : ' What, Brother, have you already accomplished your

¹ See XXVIII.

² Wrought by the Buddha (*Sum. V.*, 57).

³ *Ang.*, ii. 24, on a Tathāgata's clarity of knowledge and integrity.

religious duties?' He, declaring aññā, replied in these verses :

Well do I understand the factors five,
 And well is craving rooted out in me,
 Developed are the seven wisdom-chords,
 And all the poison-fumes are shrunk to nought. (161)
 And since the factors now are understood,
 I—look you!¹—casting out the Huntress fell
 [Who sets her netted snare for every thought],²
 And cultivating wisdom's harmony,³
 Sane and immune, in peace shall pass away.⁴ (162)

CXLI

Bhaddaji.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Bhaddiya,⁵ as the only child of a councillor whose fortune was worth eighty crores,⁶ he was named Bhaddaji, and was brought up in luxury, like that attending the Bodhisat in his last rebirth. . . . (The Commentary then relates the story of his sudden

¹ So 'haṇ, *lit.* 'this [self-same] I.'

² Expansion of the one word *jālinī*, 'she who lays a net'—*i.e.*, craving—'by the suffusion of which the manifold web of the senses becomes as a net' (*Atthasālinī*, p. 363; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 278, n. 2). *Cittacittasantānato uddharitvā* (Commentary).

³ *Bojjhaṅgā*, as in verse 161. *Cf. Compendium*, pp. 66, 180 *f.* The Commentary calls the seven 'the concord of the Norm.'

⁴ *Nibbāyissaṇ anāsavo*, 'by the expiry of the last (moment of) consciousness, like a fire without fuel, I shall *parinibbān*-ate without danger (of rebirth)' (Commentary).

⁵ In the Angas' country, east of Magadha. Koṭigāma was near Patna. The Bodhisat is, of course, Gotama, before he became a Buddha. The Commentary differs from the Jātaka version (see next page) only in a few small details, and uses independent phraseology.

⁶ *I.e.*, 800,000,000. The unit seems to have been a copper coin, termed *kahūpana*. See *Bud. India*, p. 100 *ff.*

realization of arahantship while listening for the first time to the Buddha, the latter having come from Sāvattihī purposely to seek him out; together with his following the Master and his company, the week after, to Kotigāma, and retiring to the bank of the Ganges to become absorbed in jhāna. Thence he emerges only when the Master came by, not heeding the preceding chief Theras. To vindicate his new supreme attainments, the Buddha invites him on to his own ferry-boat, and bids him work a wonder. Bhaddajī thereupon raises the submerged palace he dwelt in when he was King Panāda, all being told in the 'Mahā-panāda-Jātaka,' ii., No. 264.) Then the Thera described the golden mansion in which he had once lived, speaking of himself, that self having passed away,¹ as of another :

Panāda was that king by name
Whose palace was of gold ;
Sixteen apartments deep it stood,
Aloft a thousandfold. (163)

A thousand flights it rose on high,
Its walls with scroll-work dight,
With many a flaunting banner hung,
With emeralds glittering bright.
'Twas there they danced, Gandharvas danced,
Six thousand in seven bands. (164)

¹ On this mythical king see also *Dīgha*, iii. 76; *Jāt.*, iv., No. 489. *Dīpavāṇsa*, iii. 7; *Mahāvāṇsa* (translation), xxxi. 7 ff. *Jāt.* No. 264 gives a fuller account of Bhaddajī's performance. The text versions are uncertain in some of the descriptive terms, and the Commentary's authorities are equally divided. Hence the attempt at ballad form above does not claim to have selected an absolutely correct rendering. The last two lines refer to the vain efforts of mimes or musicians, collected by Panāda's father to make the prince smile. He, reminiscent of celestial art, was only moved to a slight smile when Sakka, the god, sent a celestial harlequin (*Jāt.*, *op. cit.*).

CXLIII

Sobhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Sobhita. And after he had heard the Master teach, had left the world and acquired sixfold abhiññā, he practised recollecting his former lives with such success that the Master ranked him foremost among those who could so remember.¹ And he, reflecting on his pre-eminence in attainment, was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm :

A bhikkhu mindful, gifted with insight,
With strenuous effort strongly set to work,
Have I [the infinite past] recalled to mind :
Five hundred ages in a single night. (165)

O let the Onsets Four of mindfulness²
My study be, the Seven,³ the noble Eight !⁴
For I [the infinite past] have called to mind :
Five hundred ages in a single night. (166)

CXLIV

‘Vallīya.’

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kaṇhamitta. Come of age, he saw the majesty of the Buddha when the latter came to Vesālī,

¹ *Ang.*, i. 25. Sister Bhaddā Kapilāni was also thus distinguished (*Sisters*, p. 47). Sobhita Thera (possibly this man) was the third in the apostolic succession of thirteen Abhidhammikas, who handed down this teaching till Mahinda conveyed it to Ceylon. Bhaddaji Thera was second. (*Atthasālinī*, p. 82).

² See *Dialogues*, ii. 327 ff.; *Compendium*, p. 179. *Bhāvayaṇṇa* = *bhāvanā* hotu (Commentary).

³ Factors of Enlightenment, Wings of Wisdom (*Compendium*, p. 180).

⁴ The Eightfold Path (*ibid.*).

and believing, he took orders under Mahā-Kaccāna. Dull of insight, and beginning to make effort, he was so long dependent upon the wisdom of his co-religionists that they called him Valliya (Creeperling), saying, 'Like ivy and such plants, that cannot grow leaning on nothing, so he cannot get on without leaning on someone who is wise.'¹

And it came to pass that he went to hear Thera Venudatta preach, and becoming thereby heedful and intelligent and ripe in knowledge, he asked that proficient teacher, saying :

All that by earnest work has to be done,
 All that one fain to wake to truth must do,
 All that shall be my work nor shall I fail.
 O see my forward strides in energy ! (167)
 And do thou show me how and where to go—
 The Path that's founded on Ambrosia -²
 So I in silent study pondering
 Shall to the silence of the seers attain,
 As glides great Gangā's river to the main.³ (168)

Then Venudatta gave him an exercise for study, and he, working at it, not long after won arahantship. Declaring aññā, he uttered those same verses.

¹ Apparently a different Thera from the Valliyas of LIII. and CXXIII., in whose case Valliya would seem to be no nickname. I have called *valli* (creeper) 'ivy,' because of its typically representing for us such a character. On Mahā-Kaccāna, see CCXXIX. Venudatta is not met with elsewhere.

² *Nibbāne paṭiṭṭhitattā* (Commentary).

³ The quarter verse *ahay monena monissay* has been perhaps unduly expanded, but it was to do justice to the association, for classic Indian literature, between the seer or sage (*muni*) and silence (cf. *Chāndogya Upanishad*, viii. 5, 2). The simile of the Ganges illustrates both silent progress and attainment. Nevertheless, the Commentary will have nothing to do with silence ; for it, *monena* is 'by wisdom or insight,' and *monissay* is 'I shall know or discern (Nibbāna).'

CXLV

Vītasoka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, in the two hundred and eighteenth year thereof, as the younger brother of King Dhammāsoka, he was named Vītasoka.¹ Come of age, he acquired the accomplishments befitting noble youths, and then as a lay-pupil of Thera Giridatta became highly proficient in the Sutta- and Abhidhamma-Piṭakas.

Now one day when his hair was being dressed, he took the mirror from the barber's hand, and contemplating his body, saw some grey hairs. In agitation he sent down insight into his mind, and exerting himself to meditate, he became, as he there sat, a Stream-winner. Taking Orders under Giridatta, he not long after won arahantship. Thereupon he thus declared aññā :

‘Now let him shave me!’—so the barber came.

From him I took the mirror and, therein

Reflected, on myself I gazed and thought : (169)

‘Futile for lasting is this body shown.’

[Thus thinking on the source that blinds our sight

My spirit's] darkness melted into light.

Stripped are the swathing vestments utterly!²

Now is there no more coming back to be? (170)³

¹ According to the Commentary, Vītasoka (one who has ended grief) is none other than the younger brother of Emperor Asoka, whose career forms an episode in the Divyāvadāna (translated by Burnouf in *Buddhisme Indien*, 1844), in which Vītasoka is impelled to leave the world through the arahant Yasa. Neither Giridatta nor the barber episode is alluded to, which shows how different was the tradition handed on by Dhammapāla. The grey hair episode is a very old tale, told in *Majjh.*, ii. 83; *Jāt.*, i., No. 9.

² The barber was also bathman and head-dresser; hence *colī* (vestments), which means any napery, may be an allusion to the muslin folds of the turban, or to bath robes and towels, or to dress. The Commentary only expands the altered scale of values in the prince's life. *Pacchavekkhisay* has the double sense of our ‘reflected.’

CXLVI

Puṇṇamāsa.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in the family of a landed proprietor, he left the work after the birth of his firstborn. And dwelling near a village, he strove and worked till he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Going thereupon to Sāvattthī and saluting the Master, he dwelt in a charnel-field. Now his son died, and his wife, desirous that their property, having no heirs, should not be taken over by the rājas, went with a large following to greet her husband, and induce him to leave the religious life. But the Thera, to show his passionless state and to vindicate his attainment, stood in the air and said :

All the five Hindrances that bar the way ²
 Against the safe, sure peace ³ I put aside.
 The mirror of the holy Norm I grasped :—⁴
 The knowing and the seeing what we are— (171)
 So I reflected on this groupèd frame ⁵
 Within and eke without, and I beheld
 How, whether it was mine or not of me,
 The body empty [is and vanity]. (172)

CXLVII

Nandaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Campā,⁶ in a burgess's family, he was named Nandaka. He was the younger

¹ See the other version in X. The Commentary recognizes no identity.

² Desires of sense, malevolence, sluggishness, distraction, perplexity—to 'put aside' these was the essential preliminary to attaining the serenity and detachment for fruitful intellectual effort (*Dialogues*, i. 82-84).

³ *Yogakkhemay*. See XXXII.

⁴ *Sisters*, verse 222.

⁵ *Kāyo* is both body (*sarīra*) and, generally, a group, or organism.

⁶ Capital of the Angas, now Bagulpur. Pronounced Champā.

brother of Bharata, whose story will next be told. When both were come of age, they heard that Soṇa-Koḷivisa¹ had left the world. And saying: 'Even Soṇa who is so delicate has gone forth; now what of us?' they, too, left the world. Bharata soon acquired sixfold abhiññā, but Nandaka, through the strength of the corruptions, was not able to command insight, and could only practise for it. Then Bharata, wishing to help him, made him his attendant, and went forth from the vihāra. Sitting down near the road he discoursed to him of insight.

Now a caravan passing by, an ox, unable to pull his cart through a boggy place, fell down. The leader had him released from the cart, and fed with grass and water. His fatigue allayed, the ox, reharnessed and strengthened, pulled the cart out of the bog. Then Bharata said: 'Did you see that business, brother Nandaka?' 'I did.' 'Consider its meaning.' And Nandaka said: 'Like the refreshed ox, I, too, must draw forth myself out of the swamp of saṃsāra.' And taking this as his subject in practising, he won arahantship. Then to his brother he declared aññā in these verses:

E'en though he trip and fall, the mettled brute
Of noble breed will steadfast stand once more.
Incited yet again to effort new,
Foredone no longer, draws his load along. (173)
So look on me as one who having learned
Of Him, the all-enlightened One, and gained
True insight, am become of noble breed,
And of the Very Buddha son indeed. (174)

CXLVIII

Bharata.

Now when his younger brother Nandaka had confessed that he had gotten aññā, Bharata conceived the idea:

¹ See CCXLI. The following object-lesson occurs in the case of Ramaṇiya-vihārin, as the Commentary reminds us (XLV.).

‘Let us both go forthwith to the Master, and tell him how we have carried out holiness of life.’ And he said these verses to Nandaka :

Come, Nandaka, now go we unto Him
 Whose blessed teaching taught us all we know ;
 And in the presence of the Wake, the Chief,
 Let’s roar the lion’s paean of our hearts. (175)
 That quest for which the holy Sage in [love
 And great] compassion bade us¹ both go forth –
 That Good supreme both you and I have won,
 And every bond that hindered us is gone. (176)

CXLIX

Bhāradvāja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin’s family, he came to be designated by his gens-name of Bhāradvāja.² Living the domestic life, a son was born to him, and he named him Kaṇhadinna. When the boy was of proper age, his father said, ‘Come, dear boy, and study under such and such a teacher,’ and sent him to Takka-silā.³ On his way thither he made friends with a great Thera, a disciple of the Master, heard him teach the Norm, took orders, and after due training won arahantship.

Now his father Bhāradvāja heard the Exalted One teach the Norm at the Bamboo Grove Vihāra, and he, too, left the world and realized arahantship. But Kaṇhadinna came to salute the Master at Rājagaha, and with joy he saw his father seated near the latter. And he asked himself: ‘My father, too, has gone forth. Has he, I

¹ *Pabbājayaṃ pabbajesi.* Cy.

² A numerous gens, but not reckoned of high rank (*Vinaya Texts*, iv. 6). At least twenty individuals of this surname are met with in the Piṭakas.

³ The Taxila of Greek chroniclers, a famous ancient seat of learning in Kashmir. See the numerous references in the *Jātaka*.

wonder, attained the end of the religious life?' Then he discerned that his father was an arahant, and wishing to make him utter a lion-roar, asked him: 'Hast thou succeeded in attaining the end of that for which we leave the world?' Then Bhāradvāja showed his attainment in these verses:

'Tis thus th' enlightened lift their triumph-song,
Like lions roaring in the hill-ravine,¹
Heroes who in the holy war have won,
And conquered evil, Māra and his host. (177)
The servant of the blessed Master I,
A votary of the Norm and Brotherhood;
And glad and gratified my heart to see
My son purged of the poisons, sane, immune. (178)

CL

Kaṇhadinna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, in a brahmin's family, he was named Kaṇhadinna. Come of age, and impelled by the efficient cause culminating, he came to the General of the Norm,² heard the Norm, believed, left the world, and developing insight, won arahantship. Thereupon he thus declared aññā:

Waited have I on saintly men and heard
Full many times the saving truths [they taught].
Hearing I knew I should attain the road
That leads away from things that age and die.³ (179)

¹ Cf. the introductory verses.

² Sāriputta. We are left in doubt as to whether Kaṇhadinna is the son in the preceding story or not. If he is, then the 'great Thera' he met was Sāriputta; but in that case it is curious that the stories are not explicitly connected.

³ Lit., the ambrosial road; according to the Commentary—the Eightfold Path. 'I knew I should' is, literally, 'I shall [attain].' He had already attained.

And so in me all lust to live again
 Thus being utterly cast out, since then
 In me 'tis no more found, nor was't, nor will it e'er
 Come back in me, nor at this hour doth rise in me.¹
 (180)

PART IV

CLI

Migasira.

REBORN in this Buddha-age in the family of a brahmin of Kosala, he was named Migasira² after the constellation under which he obtained birth. And having acquired brahmin culture, he practised the skull-spell,³ so that, when he had muttered the spell and tapped with his nail on the skull, he would declare, 'This person is reborn in such a sphere,' even with respect to those who had been dead three years. Disliking domestic life, he became a Wanderer,⁴ and through his art won favour and respect. Coming to Sāvattthī and going before the Master, he declared his power, saying: 'I, master Gotama, can tell the destiny of dead persons.' 'How do you tell it?' He let a skull be brought, and, muttering his rune and tapping with his nail, he asserted purgatory or some other sphere to be the place of rebirth.

Then the Exalted One had the skull of a bhikkhu brought, who had attained complete outgoing (*parinibbāna*), and said: 'Tell now his destiny to whom this skull belonged!' Migasira muttered and tapped, but saw neither the beginning nor the end. Then the Master said: 'Art not able, Wanderer?' He replied, 'I must first make sure,' and turning the skull round never so much—for how should he know the goings of an arahant?⁵—stood ashamed,

¹ Either glosses have crept in, or the additional feet in the latter gāthā are intentional, to pile on emphasis.

² Deer's head = Capricorn.

³ Cf. Vangīsa's legend, CCLXIV.

⁴ See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 141-143. ⁵ Cf. verse 92.

perspiring, dumb. 'Art tired, Wanderer?' 'Ay, I am tired; I cannot discern the destiny of this one. Do you make it known?' 'I know it, and more besides. He is gone to Nibbāna.'¹ Then said the Wanderer: 'Give me this hidden lore!' 'Then do you take orders.' So Migasira was ordained, and was given exercises in calm. Well grounded in jhāna and abhiññā, he practised insight, and not long after won arahantship. He then confessed aññā thus:

Since I went forth and entered on the Rule
 Ordained by the Enlightened One Supreme,
 Emancipated as I went, I rose
 Transcending all these things of sense-desire. (181)
 While He, that Very Brahmin,² looked on me,
 O then my heart was set at liberty!³
 Yea, since all bonds are broke for evermore,
 For me Emancipation's fixed and sure! (182)

CLII

Sivaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rajagaha in a brahmin's family, he was named Sivaka. And when he had acquired a complete education, he followed his inclination to leave the world. Coming as a Wanderer to hear the Master teach the Norm, he received faith, entered the Order, and eventually won arahantship. He then thus confessed aññā:

Transient the little houses [of our life],
 Built here, built there, again, ever again.
 Hunting the house-builder [thus far I come];
 Birth is but woe again, ever again. (183)

¹ *Nibbānaṃ gato so*, the only Pali approximation to the frequent rendering, 'entered into Nirvāna,' I have yet met with.

² In the sense of chief, best (Commentary); a genitor absolute.

³ See *Sisters*, verses 17, 81, 116.

Thou'rt found, house-maker thou, thou'rt seen at
last!

Never again shalt fashion house [for me]!

Broken are all thy walls, shattered thy roofs.

Stayed is the further rise of consciousness;

Blown 'twill be even here to nothingness.¹ (184)

CLIII

Upavāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī, in a brahmin's family, he was named Upavāna. He saw at the Jeta Grove presentation the majesty of the Buddha, and entering the Order, practised for insight, and won sixfold abhiññā.

Now Upavāna became attendant on the Exalted One.² And at that time the Exalted One was attacked by cramp. And Devahita, a brahmin lay-friend of the Thera, living at Sāvattthī, was supplying him with the four necessities. Seeing him come with bowl and robe, Devahita discerned that he needed something different and said: 'Let your reverence be supplied. What do you need?' And Upavāna answered:

The Arahant, the Well-Come of all men,
The Holy Sage, he suffereth sore with wind.
If there be any water heated here,
O give it to me, brahmin, for the Sage. (185)
Revered by them to whom we reverence owe,
Cherished by them who claim our pious care,
Honoured by them to whom honour is due,
For Him I do beseech it may be brought. (186)

¹ Legend has assigned these famous verses as the Buddha's first logion, after his attainment of Buddhahood (*Bud. Birth Stories*, p. 103f.; *Sum. V.*, i. 16); but they do not occur in the canonical descriptions of that event (*cf.* the slightly different Gāthās, *Dhp.*, 153, 154; *SBE*, x. 42, n.). Dhammapāla is briefer than usual, apparently ignorant of the tradition given in Buddhaghosa. He makes no allusion to it. The house-builder, he points out, is craving, *taṇhū vaḍḍhaki*.

² See CCLX. On the ailment of *Milinda* i., 194, n. 4.

Thereat the brahmin offered both hot water and suitable medicine. Thereby the Master's sickness was healed, and to him the Exalted One rendered thanks.

CLIV

Isidinna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Sunaparantas,¹ in the family of a councillor, he was named Isidinna. Grown up, he saw the double miracle at the presentation of the Sandalwood Pavilion,² and coming with a satisfied mind to the Master, he heard the Norm, and became a Stream-winner. While still living a domestic life, a compassionate spirit urged him, saying :

I mark the pious laity who treasure on their lips the Norm ;

How you may often hear them say : 'Transient are all this world's desires !'

But in their hearts lies love of pelf, of precious stones and jewelled rings,

And that which fills their thought is care of sons and daughters and of wives. (187)

Nay, verily, they do not know the inward meaning of the Norm ;

Even though you often hear them say : 'Transient are all this world's desires !'

To cut themselves from passions free, they lack the spiritual health,

And therefore cleaveth aye their heart to wife and children, and to wealth. (188)

When the layman heard this, he was thrilled with emotion, and leaving the world, he not long after won arahantship. In confessing aññā, he repeated these verses.

¹ Cf. LXX.

² I cannot trace this legendary event elsewhere.

CLV

Sambula-Kaccāna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a burgess of the Kaccāna's, he was named Sambula, but was known as Sambula-Kaccāna.¹ After he had heard the Master teach the Norm, and had entered the Order, he went to the neighbourhood of the Himālaya, and practised his insight exercises in a cave called Bhera-vāyanā ('dreadful-passage').

Now one day there arose a great storm-cloud out of season, towering high in the heavens, emitting roars of thunders, forked lightning, and rushing noise. And it began to rain, and thunderbolts burst. All creatures—bears, hyenas, buffaloes, elephants—cried out in fear and trembling. But the Thera had stirred up insight, and, careless as to body and life, heeded not the noise, but cooled by the storm so composed his mind, that he quickened insight, and won arahantship together with abhiññā.

Thereupon reflecting on his achievement he was filled with joy, and in a psalm confessed aññā :

God's rain pours down, ay, and god's rain roars
down,

And I alone in fearsome hollow dwell.

Yet dwelling so in fearsome rocky dell

To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread,

No quailing [of my soul]. (189)

For such the law

Within the blessed Norm, that dwelling so

To me no fear comes nigh, no creeping dread,

No quailing [of my soul] to me, alone.² (190)

¹ There was need to distinguish him from other Kaccānas—e.g., CCXXIX. In Phayre MS. and Br. Cy., Sampahula.

² The metre in these graceful gāthās I cannot allocate under any of the textbook varieties. The words, 'For such . . . Norm,' are an expansion of the Suttanta term, *Dhammatī* (*maṃ*) *esā*—'This for me is Normness' (cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 8, n. 3; my *Buddhism*, p. 119). *Devu* (god), the Commentary, as before, paraphrases with *megha* (cloud).

CLVI

Khitaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Kosala as the son of a brahmin, and named Khitaka,¹ he heard the Norm from the Master, and entering the Order, dwelt in a forest till he won arahantship. Thereupon continuing in the bliss of fruition, of Nibbāna, a Thera enthusiastic for endeavour, he went to the bhikkhus dwelling in that forest to stir enthusiasm in them. First asking concerning their good, he spoke these verses, therein confessing aññā :

Whose heart stands like a rock, and swayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world ?²
To heart thus crained, whence shall come aught of
ill ? (191)

My heart stands like a rock, and swayeth not,
Void of all lust for things that lust beget,
And all unshaken in a shifting world.
My heart thus trained—whence shall come ill to
me ? (192)

CLVII

Soṇa-Poṭṭiriya-putta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu, as the son of the zemindar³ Poṭṭiriya, he was named Soṇa. Come of age, he became chief captain of the forces of Bhaddiya, a Sākiyan rāja. Now Bhaddiya having left the world, as will be described below, Soṇa thought : ' If even the rāja has left the world, what have I to do with domestic life ?'

¹ Identical with the author of CIV. ?

² Lit., shakes not in that which tendeth to shake.

³ On the position of a *bhojaka* holding land in fief, see *Dialogues*, i. 108, n. 1; on Bhaddiya, see CCLIV. Anupiyā, in the Mallas' territory, lay east of Kapilavatthu. On the vision, cf. several of the first Sisters' psalms.

So he took orders, but remained sluggish, not given to meditative exercise. On him the Exalted One, dwelling in the Mango Grove at Anupiyā, sent forth his glory, and arousing him to mindfulness uttered admonitory verses :

Nay, not for this that thou mayest slumber long,
Cometh the night in starry garlands wreathed.
For vigil by the wise this night is here. (193)

Hearing him, Sona was exceedingly agitated, and keeping his shortcomings before the mind, adopted the open-air practice, exercising himself for insight. And he uttered this verse :

If in the fight my warrior-elephant
Advanced, 'twere better, fallen from his back,¹
Dead on the field [and trampled I should lie],
Than beaten live a captive to the foe. (194)

So saying, he stirred up insight and won arahantship, and thereupon repeated the Master's words and his own as his confession of aññā.

CLVIII

Nisabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of the Koliyans,² in a clansman's family, he was named Nisabha. Come of age, he saw the Buddha's wisdom and power at the fight between the Sākiyans and Koliyans, and believing, entered the Order, anon winning arahantship.

Thereupon seeing a fellow-bhikkhu spending his time

¹ The Commentary confirms the reading *avapatitay* (*vide* Neumann). The figure is a very natural one for an Indian soldier, and its application is easy. Metaphors from warfare are less frequent in Buddhist than in Christian literature, and the few contained in this work almost exhaust them. 'Trampled' (by the elephant) is a Commentarial gloss.

² A clan separated from the Sākiyans by the River Rohinī. Cf. C., CCXXXIII.

carelessly, he admonished him, adding another verse to show he acted that which he preached :

Put them away, those fivefold things of sense,
 Objects that charm and captivate the mind.
 Thou who through faith didst give up home and
 world,
 Become end-maker of its grief and pain. (195)
 With thought of death I dally not, nor yet
 Delight in living. I await the hour
 With mind discerning and with heedfulness.¹ (196)

CLIX

Usabha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu in the family of a Sākiyan rāja, he was named Usabha. And when the Master visited his own folk,² Usabha saw his power and wisdom, believed in him, and entered the Order. From that time he fulfilled no religious duties, but passed all day in society and all night in sleep.

Now one day, muddled in mind and unheedingly dropping off to sleep, he dreamt that he shaved, put on a crimson cloak, and, sitting on an elephant, entered the town for alms. There, seeing the people gathered together, he dismounted full of shame. Thereupon he awoke thinking: 'Why, this was a dream! Muddled in head and thoughtless I saw myself in sleep.' And with anguish he established insight, and in due course won arahantship.

Thus having made the dream his goad, he celebrated it to confess aññā, saying :

A cloak the hue of purple mango-buds
 Draping about my shoulder, I bestrode
 The back of elephant, and so to seek
 Mine alms into the village street I rode. (197)

¹ Cf. XX., and ver. 607.

² Cf. CCXXXIII.

Down from his back [in very shame] I slid—
 [When lo! I woke and] anguish seized me then.
 This arrogant self was then made meek and mild,
 Purged were the poisons [that my mind defiled].¹ (198)

CLX

Kappaṭa-kura.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in poor circumstances, the only way he knew of to support himself was to go about, clad in rags, pan in hand, seeking for rice-grains.² Hence he became known as Kappaṭa-kura—'Rags-and-rice.' When grown up, he maintained himself by selling grass. Reaping this one day in the forest, he saw a Thera. Doing obeisance he sat down near him, and heard him teach the Norm. Then he believed, and saying 'What to me is this wretched mode of life?' he entered the Order, bestowing his ragged cloth in a certain place. And when repugnance [to his new life] arose in him, he would go and look at the rags and feel unsettled. So doing, he seceded seven times from the Order. Then the bhikkhus told the Exalted One of this. And he one day, when Kappaṭa-kura, as bhikkhu, sat in the preaching-hall at the edge of the congregation dozing, admonished him in these verses:

'These,' saith he, 'are the rags of Rags-and-Rice!
 Too heavy is the gear I'm wearing now.'
 Full measure of the Norm hath he in shower
 Ambrosial; and yet no step he takes
 To practise contemplative discipline. (199)

¹ Another instance where the legend straightens out the tangle of the gāthā taken in isolation. What, *e.g.*, had the elephant rider to do with 'to seek mine alms'? Dr. Neumann has been compelled to excise the phrase. As the anomaly of a dream, the little poem is quite clear. 'Then . . . then' is a repetition copied from the text.

² *Kura*, occurring once as *kūra* in the Commentary (=in Childers and in Böhtlingk and Roth, 'boiled rice'), is probably wild rice in some form or other. Cf. *sukkha-kūra* in the Sutta-Vibhanga of the Vinaya, edition Oldenberg, iv., Pāc. 88, 1.

O Kappata, thou shouldst not sway and nod,
 Nor make me cuff the word into thine ear.
 Never a whit thou, Kappata, hast learned,
 Sleepily swaying 'midst the listeners here.¹ (200)

Thus the Exalted One upbraided him strongly, as if He had pierced his very bones, as if a fierce elephant had gone down into his path. And he, greatly disturbed, established insight, and soon won arahantship. Thereupon he repeated the verses which had been the goad that sent him to the goal, so that they became his confession of aññā.

PART V

CLXI

Kumāra-Kassapa.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, his mother was the daughter of a councillor. She having failed to gain her parents' consent to leave the world while yet a maiden, was married, and obtained her husband's consent to take Orders, not knowing at the time that she had conceived. When later the bhikkhunis saw her condition, they consulted Devadatta, who replied: 'She is no true nun!' They then consulted Him-of-the-Ten-Powers. He entrusted the matter to Thera Upāli, who convened certain residents at Sāvattī, including the lay-patroness Visākhā, and in full

¹ These verses remain not exactly the reverse of 'obscure sayings,' as Dr. Neumann calls them, even after the help of the legend. The Commentary, in both versions, is scarcely as lucid as usual; yet such explanation as it gives is, as ever, to show a situation of a simple and probable kind—the ragged loincloth, with its vagabond associations, supplying a Bohemian and pagan lure, making the more decorous yellow robes seem cumbrous, and the discipline irksome. The legend is a distinct addition to the 'human documents' of the Order's traditions.

assembly, the king being present, pronounced the Sister to have been with child when she took orders. The Master approved his decision. So she brought forth her child at the Vihāra, a boy like a golden statue, and the king reared him, and brought him later on to the Master to join the Order. Because he joined as a youth,¹ and they would ask, when the Exalted One said, 'Send for Kassapa,' or 'Give this fruit or biscuit to Kassapa,' 'Which Kassapa?' and because of his royal rearing, he became known as Kumāra-Kassapa, even after he was grown to manhood.

Now while he exercised himself for insight and learnt the Buddha-word, he dwelt in Dark Wood.² Then a deva, one who had with him done only the mountain-recluse's course, and having become a Non-Returner, had been reborn as a Great-Brahmā in the Pure Abodes, determined to show Kumāra-Kassapa a method for attaining the Paths and Fruits. And he came into the Dark Wood, and showed him fifteen questions which only the Master could answer. So he asked them before the Exalted One and learnt them; whereupon having conceived insight,³ he attained arahantship.

Thereupon, having been ranked by the Master foremost among those who had the gift of varied and versatile discourse, he reviewed his career, and under the aspect of

¹ In his twentieth year (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 229).

² At Sāvattihī. Three of the Sisters' psalms are associated with it. On the technical expressions used in the next sentence, see *Compendium*, p. 91.

³ An exceptional and curious phrase, borrowed from the terms of maternity: *Vipassanay gabbhay ganhūpetvā*—an echo, perhaps, of the description of his mother's ordeal described above. The story of the Thera is told also in the *Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 24; in *Jātaka*, i. 148 ff.; and in the *Commentary on the Dhammapāda*, iii. 144 ff. The questions arising from the deva's visit are in *Majjh.*, i. 148, 'Vammika-Sutta.' An interesting feature in the *Commentary* is a reference made by its author, Dhammapāla, to the *Commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya*. Where Dhammapāla writes *gehe*, he adds: 'The Anguttaratthakathā says *kulagehe*'—as, indeed, it does. Hence it would seem that Buddhaghosa wrote before Dhammapāla.

extolling the virtues of the Jewel-Trinity, confessed his aññā :

All hail the Buddhas, and all hail the Norms.¹
 Hail the blest System by our Master wrought,
 Wherein he that doth hear may [be enrolled
 And] come to realize a Norm like ours. (201)
 Down countless ages have its members come,
 Reborn now as this compound, now as that.
 But this for them is now the very last,
 The final confluence of the factors five,²
 In flux of rebirth and mortality.
 Now come they never more again to be. (202)

CLXII

Dhammapāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, when the Master had passed away, in the kingdom of Avanti,³ as a brahmin's son, he was named Dhammapāla. As he was returning from Takkasilā, his schooldays finished, he saw on his way a certain Thera in a single cell,⁴ and hearing from him the Norm, he believed, left the world, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now, as he was ruminating in the bliss of his achievement, two novices climbed a tree at the Vihāra to pick blossoms, and a branch breaking, they were falling. Seeing them, the Thera caught them with his hand, and by his

¹ Cf. *Majjh.*, ii. 96, where the apostrophe is in the singular number. The plural *dhammā*, as applied to Norm, is perhaps unique. The Commentary has—'the Doctrine, together with the nine *lokuttarā dhammā*.' These are enumerated in the *Paṭisambhidā* (ii. 166) as the seven groups given in *Compendium*, pp. 179-181 (a—g), plus the Paths and Fruits, and Nibbāna making ten.

² *Samussayo*, compound of the five *khandhas*, bodily and mental. Cf. p. 80, n. 2.

³ The country just east or north-east of Bombay. See *Bud. India*, p. 28.

⁴ *Ekasmiṃ vihāra*. Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 4, n. 1.

iddhi-power¹ placed them unhurt upon the ground. And he taught them, saying :

The brother who while young hath given himself
Wholly to carry out the Buddha's plan,
Who keepeth vigil in a sleeping world,
Not vainly, not for naught he spends his days. (203)
So let the wise man, so let him who aye
Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,
Devote himself to faith and righteousness,
To know the blessedness They brought to us,
And the true vision of the holy Norm.² (204)

CLXIII

Brahmāli.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Kosala, as a brahmin's son, he was named Brahmāli. When grown up, being impelled by the fulness of conditions, distress arose in him because of the continual round, and, through associating with spiritually minded friends, he left the world, and took his exercise to a forest. From the maturity of his knowledge he soon developed insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Dwelling thereafter in the bliss of the Patha, the Thera, so versed in compassing endeavour, uttered one day these verses, on behalf of the bhikkhus in that forest, concerning devotion to endeavour :

In whom the senses have been hushed to calm,
Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
In whom no vain conceits are found, nor aught
Of poison-fumes survives, a man like this
May stir up envy e'en among the gods. (205)

¹ *Compendium*, pp. 60 ff., 209.

² The literal Pali of these two lines is the two very pregnant terms *paśāday* (expressing relief, satisfaction, trust) and *dhammadassanay* (insight into or through the Dhamma).



A BURMESE NOVICE.

From *Buddhism*, Rangoon, December, 1903

*'The Brother who while young hath given himself
Wholly to carry out the Buddha's plan. . . .'*

To face p. 150.

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA.

In me the senses have been hushed to calm,
 Like horses well tamed by the charioteer,
 In me no vain conceits are found, nor aught
 Of poison-fumes survives ;—one such as I
 May stir up envy e'en among the gods.¹ (206)

CLXIV

Mogharājan.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin's family, and named Mogharājan,² he studied under the brahmin Bāvariya. Growing distressed, he became an ascetic. He was one of the sixteen, Ajita and others, who was sent by Bāvariya to the Master to interview him.³ When Mogharājan had asked his question and been answered, he attained arahantship.

Thereafter he acquired distinction by wearing rough cloth which caravaners, tailors and dyers had thrown away. Wherefore the Master assigned him the first place among those who wore such rough clothing [he thereby realizing his aspiration made many ages ago].⁴

At another time, from want of care and through former karma, pimples and the like broke out and increased on his body. Judging that his lodging was infected, he spread out a couch of straw in the Magadha fields, and there, though it was winter, he lodged. Of him, waiting one day

¹ The first gāthā is found in the *Dhammapada*, verse 94, spoken, according to the Commentary (ii. 176 f.), by the Buddha concerning Mahā Kaccā[ya]na. Cf. below, CCXXIX.

² This curious name (= futile king) seems to be nowhere explained. The one so named in *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 23, seems to be a *deva*, but a verse by a Mogharāja-Thera in *Milinda*, ii. 359, is one of those not incorporated in this Canon.

³ See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 976-1031, 1116-1119. Cf. also XX (Ajita), and the varied 'Bāvari', 'Bāvariya-brahmaṇo.'

⁴ *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25.

upon the Master, and paying his respects, the latter of his courtesy inquired in the following verse :

Well, Mogharājan, thou skin-sufferer,
Thou blest of heart and constantly serene,
Cometh the time when winter nights are cold,
And thou a brother poor—how wilt thou fare? (207)

Thus asked, the Thera explained the matter to the Master :

Rich are the cornfields of the Magadhese,¹
And thriving, every one, I've heard it said.
My little straw-built canopy doth please
Better than others' way of finding ease. (208)

CLXV

Visākha the Pañcālī's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha, as the son of a district rāja, he was named Visākha. But because he was the son of the daughter of the king of the Pañcālas,² he became known afterwards as the Pañcālī's son.

At his father's death he succeeded to his title, but when the Master came to his neighbourhood he went to hear him, and believed, and left the world. Following him to Sāvattthī, he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Thereupon, in kindness to his own folk, he visited his native place. And as people kept coming to hear him, he was one day asked : 'How many qualities, your reverence, should a man acquire to be a preacher of the Norm?' The

¹ On the large fields of Magadha see my 'Early Economic Conditions in Northern India,' *JRAS*, 1901, p. 860. *Khetta*, the collective singular, has here become *khettūni*, but cf. p. 153.

² An ancient kingdom, lying to the east of the Kurus, whose capital was where Delhi stands (*Bud. India*). Pronounced Panchāla.

Thera taught them the essential feature of such an one as follows :¹

Let him not be puffed up, nor other folk
 Belittle, nor despise nor yet molest
 The victor who hath overcome the world.²
 Nor let him drag the praises of himself
 Before the public ; let him be³ sober, meek,
 And moderate in speech and virtuous. (209)
 Is there a man who can the truth discern,
 Tho' it be very subtle and refined ?
 Who skilled to measure spiritual growth,
 Is yet of lowly, and of gentle mind.
 Who shapes his life by rule of Them that Wake :
 For him, Nibbāna is not hard to find.⁴ (210)

CLXVI

Cūḷaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as a brahmin's son, he was named Cūḷaka. When he saw the Master tame the elephant Dhanapāla,⁵ he believed, and left the world. Working at his training, he dwelt in the Indra-sāl-tree Cave.⁶ One day as he sat in the entrance of the cave, looking down over the Magadha 'field,' a great storm-cloud filled the sky with piled-up masses, and amid deep, lovely roars, the rain came down. The flock of peacocks, hearing the thunder, joyously uttered their ké-ká cry,⁷ and

¹ The Buddha is recorded as having assigned the first place among the *dhammakathika*'s to Puṇṇa among the Brethren (IV.), Dhamma-dinnā among the Sisters (*Sisters*, p. 17), and Citta among laymen; nevertheless, he specially praised this Thera's teaching (*Sajj. Nik.*, ii. 280; *Ang. Nik.*, ii. 51).

² Lit., him who hath gone beyond.

³ *Siyānti* should here, writes the Commentary, be added as a *kriyā-pada*.

⁴ This is Vacchapāla's psalm (LXXI.); also, be it noted, a Magadhese.

⁵ See *Milinda*, i. 298 f., nn. on *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 247 f.

⁶ See *Dialogues*, ii. 299.

⁷ See XXII., n. 2.

danced around. The touch of the storm-breeze brought coolness and comfort to the Thera in his cavern-lodge, so that with a suitable temperature his mind became concentrated. He entered the avenue of his exercise, and, discerning that the favourable moment was come, he praised his practice, breaking out in these verses :

Hark! how the peacocks make the welkin ring,
Fair-crested, fine their plumes and azure throat,
Graceful in shape and pleasant in their cry.
And see how this broad landscape watered well
Lies verdure-clad beneath the dappled sky! (211)

Healthy thy frame and fit and vigorous
To make good progress in the Buddha's rule.
Come then and grasp the rapt thought of the
 saint,¹
And touch the crystal bright, the subtly deep,
The elusive mystery—even the Way
Where dying cometh not, ineffable. (212)

And so the Thera, admonishing himself, attained under seasonable conditions to mental concentration, and evoking insight, won arahantship. Thereupon reviewing what he had wrought, with zest and joy he repeated those lines as the confession of aññā.

CLXVII

Anūpama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family at Kosala, his beauty obtained him the name of Anūpama—'Peerless.' Come of age, he felt the working of the efficient cause, forsook the world, and dwelt in the forest,

¹ *Sumanassa*, paraphrased by *sundaramanassa yogāvacarassa*. 'Come,' 'grasp,' 'touch,' are expansions of the Pali *phusāhi*, the last of the three verbs. The long-drawn-out Jagatī metre of the two gāthās relies on reiteration of the adaptable prefix *su* (Greek *eu*)—good, fair, well—to convey intense gladness.

practising for insight. But his mind hovered about external objects, revolving about his theme for meditation, so that he thus rebuked himself :

O heart ! gone gadding after things that please,
 O thou that shapest many a shaft of doom,
 There and there only dost thou ever tend
 Where block and stake rise at the bitter end. (213)
 I call thee, heart, the breaker of my luck !
 I call thee, heart, despoiler of my lot !
 Lo ! He whom many an age thou couldst not find,
 The Master now is come—suffer it not
 That I to wreck and ruin be consigned.¹ (214)

Thus admonishing his own consciousness, the Thera developed insight, and won arahantship.

CLXVIII

Vajjita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy Kosalan family, after deceasing from the Brahma world, he ever wept in his mother's arms. And because he could not endure the touch of a woman, he came to be called Vajjita—'abstaining.' Come of age, he saw the Master work the twin-miracle,² and believing, he entered the Order, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon remembering his former existence, he was stirred with holy emotion, and said :

A traveller I these long, long ages past,
 And round about the realms of life I've whirled ;
 One of the many-folk and blind as they,
 No Ariyan truths had I the power to see. (215)

¹ This eloquent poem is a miniature version of Tālapuṭa's long-drawn-out apostrophe to his *chitta* (CCLXII.). The Commentary identifies *kalīy* with *Kālakapṇi*, goddess of ill luck. The last words of the text should, of course, be understood as *mā anatthe*, etc.

² Cf. p. 86, n. 1.

But earnestly I strove for light and calm ;
 And now all shattered lies the endless way.
 All future bournes abolished utterly,
 Now cometh never more rebirth for me. (216)

And this became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXIX

Sandhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a wealthy family of Kosala and named Sandhita, he heard, when come of age, a sermon on impermanence, and this alarmed him so that he entered the Order. Through the maturity of his knowledge he established insight, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Recalling his own former life, how after the passing away of Sikhi Buddha he had worshipped at the Bo-tree and acquired discernment of impermanence,¹ he declared his winning of the goal, by that efficient cause, in these verses :

Beneath the tree—the holy Bodhi-tree—
 Clad in the glory of its vernal green,
 To me musing and mindful came a thought—
 A Buddha-burdened thought. (217)

'Tis one and thirty æons since it came.
 Natheless so fruitful proved that thought in me,
 By dint thereof o'er the intoxicants
 The victory is wrought! (218)

¹ In lamenting that he only heard of that Buddha just as he had passed away. On Sikhi, see *Dialogues*, ii. 6. 'Bodhi-tree' is *assatthe*, or the species of fig-tree which was Gotama Buddha's Bo-tree. Sikhi's was a kind of mango (see Childers's 'Punḍarīka'), and the Commentary is at some pains to explain that *assattha* had come to stand for Bo-tree associations in general. 'Thought'—*saññā*, *apercu*—is repeated thrice in the text.

CANTO III

PSALMS OF THREE VERSES

CLXX

Anganika-Bhāradvāja.

REBORN in this Buddha-age near the Himalaya, at the city of 'Ukkatṭha,¹ in the family of a very rich brahmin, he was named Anganika-Bhāradvāja.² And when he had learned all Vedic lore and art, his inclination for renunciation induced him to leave the world and carry on penance for salvation.³ Wandering here and there, he met the Buddha Supreme on a country tour, and with satisfied mind heard him teach. Leaving his false ascetics, he took orders, and practising for insight, in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Abiding thereafter in the bliss of liberty, he took compassion on his kinsfolk, and visited and taught them in the Refuges and the Precepts; then leaving them, he went to dwell in a forest near the village of Kuṇḍiya of the Kurus.⁴

¹ On this upland town (= 'lofty'), see *Dialogues*, i. 108. A road connected it with Setavyā (*sup.*, p. 67; *Ang.*, ii. 37) and with Vesālī (*Jāt.*, ii. 259, text).

² There are about nineteen Bhāradvājas (a gens name) mentioned in the Piṭakas. This one is not met with elsewhere.

³ That which, in the text, is *amaray tapay* ('penances . . . for heaven') is, in the Commentary, rendered *amatatapay*, *amatay tapay*. The difference, etymologically, is that between 'undying' and 'not dead.' Both refer, probably, to reunion with the gods, as attainable by the penance of the five fires, etc. See *sup.*, p. 120, and *Dialogues*, i. 211.

⁴ This will not be the Kuṇḍiyā of the Koliyas (*Udāna*, ii. 8; *Jāt.*, i. No. 100). Uggāyāma is possibly the place Ugga of LXXX.

Going for some purpose to Uggāyāma, he was accosted by some brahmin acquaintances, who said: 'Master Bhāradvāja, what have you seen that you have left the brahmin communion for this community?' And he, showing that outside the Buddha's church there was no pure rule, said:

Purity without principle my quest,
 When in the grove I fostered sacred fire.
 Painful the penances I wrought for heaven,
 All ignorant of purity's true path. (219)
This happiness by happy ways is won¹—
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!²
 The threefold wisdom have I gotten now,
 And all the Buddha's ordinance is done. (220)
 Once but a son of brahmins born was I;³
 To-day I stand brahmin in very deed,
 Versed in the triple lore and graduate,⁴
 By sacramental bathing consecrate. (221)

Then those brahmins hearing him, expressed enthusiastic appreciation of the Sāsana.

CLXXI

Paccaya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the city of Rohi, in a nobleman's family, he was named Paccaya.⁵ Inheriting the estate at his father's death, he decreed to hold a great ceremonial oblation, and a great assembly foregathered.

¹ Cf. LXIII.

² Cf. XXIV. He is addressing either the Norm or himself, says the Commentary, omitting the more probable 'or the brahmins.'

³ Cf. p. 222; also the very similar lines, *Sisters*, verse 251 and *note*.

⁴ The Commentary finds Sāsana-equivalents for all these terms of Vedic tradition.

⁵ Neither rāja nor city is found elsewhere. . . Pacchāyā (pronounce thus) was the name of the elephant of Vessantara, a Sākiyan ancestor (*Jāt.*, vi. 485, text).

At that congress, the Master, seated on a throne in a jewelled pavilion made by (his ancestor) Vessavaṇa,¹ taught the Norm, while all the people gazed at him. Even the great multitude understood the doctrine, but rāja Paccaya went further. For impelled by earlier causes, he renounced his estate and left the world. And even as he had vowed in Kassapa Buddha's time, so now, entering his cell, he vowed to attain before he left it again. And now at last, insight growing, and knowledge attaining full maturity, he attained arahantship.

Thereupon, celebrating his achievement, he thus confessed aññā :

Five days have now gone by since I went forth,
 A learner, and my mind not perfected.²
 Then in the heart of me within my cell
 Retired uprose unfaltering resolve: (222)
 I will not eat nor will I drink again,
 Nor from this lodging let me issue forth,
 Nor will I even lie upon my side,
 While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn.³ (223)
 Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
 And mark the forward stride of energy:
 In Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done! (224)

CLXXII

Bākula.

Born at Kosambī in a councillor's family before our Exalted One appeared, he was being bathed for his health in the Great-Yamunā River,⁴ when a fish swallowed him

¹ Cf. p. 189, n. 1. *Jāt.*, vi. 265 ff. (text).

² A phrase of the Nikāyas (*Majjh.*, i. 4; *Saṃy.*, i. 121, v. 145).

³ A resolve enjoined on learners (*Majjh.*, i. 480; *Ang.*, i. 50; *Saṃy.*, ii. 28).

⁴ The Jumna. Kosambī was near the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges (at Allahabad). Bākula's or Bakkula's story is given in the

out of the nurse's hands. The fish was caught by an angler and sold to the wife of a Benares councillor. When it was split open, the child through the might of his merit appeared unhurt. The wife cherished him as her son, and when she heard his story, asked him of his parents. The king decided they should have him in common, hence he was named Bā-kula ('two-families,' *bi-kin*).

After a prosperous life he heard the Master preach, and left the world at eighty years of age. For seven days he remained unenlightened, but as the eighth dawned he attained arahantship, together with thorough mastery of the letter and spirit of the doctrine.¹

One day the Master, when assigning manifold eminence to his disciples, ranked Bākula foremost for good health.² Thereafter he, when about to pass away, confessed aññā in the midst of the Brethren thus :

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
The things that he should yesterday have done,
Forfeit of happy opportunity,
He shall anon repent him fierily.³ (225)
Let him but talk of that which should be done ;
Let him not talk of what should not be done !
Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
worth.⁴ (226)

Anguttara-Nikaya Commentary and in the Singhalese Comy. of *Milinda* (ii. 10, n. 2). His legend tells of his having healed two Buddhas in former births. Morris's discussion of *bakkula* in another connection (*JPTS*, 1886, p. 95 ff.) explains the word as a *proper name* no better than does the mythical story.

¹ See *Sisters*, p. 17 n. The poem is repeated (CLXXXIV.).

² *Ang. Nik.*, i. 25 ; there called Bakkula. Presumably his great age lent point to the distinction.

³ *Anutappati*, lit., proceed to be hot about. Our metaphor is bite (*remorse*) or pricking (of conscience).

⁴ Expanded from the two words *parijānanti paṇḍitū*, the wise understand. The Commentary's expansion is 'they fixing [him] accurately know, do not esteem highly.'

O great, O wondrous is Nibbāna's bliss,
 Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake!
 There comes no grief, no passion, haven sure,
 Where ill and ailing perish evermore! (227)

CLXXIII

Dhaniya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a potter's family and named Dhaniya, he practised the potter's craft. It was at his house that the Master taught Pukkusāti the noble the Sutta of the System of Elements.¹ Dhaniya, hearing of Pukkusāti dying as an arahant [that very night], thought: 'Mighty to guide verily is the Buddha-sāsana, wherein a single night suffices to release a man from the sorrows of rebirth!' So he entered the Order. But he continued to occupy himself with making tiles for roofs.² Reproved for making a clay hut by the Exalted One, he took up his abode in a bhikkhu's lodging, and there won arahantship.

Thereafter, on the occasion of admonishing bhikkhus who, as self-mortifying, held themselves superior to others, he confessed aññā thus:

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease, &
 Let him not scorn the Order's uniform,
 Nor hold in disrespect its food and drink. (228)

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
 Let him frequent a shelter like the lair
 Of watersnake or mouse [primitive, bare].³ (229)

¹ 'Dhātuvibhanga-sutta,' *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 237 ff., where the potter's name is not mentioned. Cf. above XCVII., and my *Buddhism*, 1912

² Dhaniya's skill in brick-making: clay-work red as the *indagopakā* (cf. verse 13), and giving a bell-like sound when tapped, is described, in this connection, in *Vinaya*, iii. 41 f.

³ Commentary: 'the hole of the moment, where he can go in and out at will.'

If one in the recluse's discipline
 Take thought how he may live in happy ease,
 Let him be glad whate'er the day may bring,¹
 And let him be intent on one main thing.² (230)

CLXXIV

Mātanga's Son.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala as the son of Mātanga's landowner, he came to be called after his father. He grew up idle in habits, and when his people rebuked him, he made acquaintance with the bhikkhus, noting how happily the Sākiya-son recluses lived. But when he heard the Master teach the Norm, he believed and took orders. Seeing the power of *iddhi* wielded by bhikkhus, he aspired to the same. And practising exercises, he won sixfold abhiññā.

Thereupon he scourged slothfulness, extolling his own rush of energy in these verses :

Too cold ! too hot ! too late ! such is the cry.
 And so, past men who shake off work [that waits
 Their hand], the fateful moments fly.³ (231)
 But he who reckons cold and heat as less
 Than straws, doing his duties as a man,
 He no defaulter proves to happiness. (232)

¹ Lit., glad at one thing or another.

² I.e., let him be in earnest (Commentary) whatever be the *ekadhammay* of his study.

³ 'Fateful' is interpolated to give weight to the urgency with which, in the earnest bhikkhu's life, conjuncture of opportunity is associated with this present life, especially in a 'Buddha-age.' So the Commentary here, and cf. *Sisters*, p. 12, n. 4. These two verses occur in *Dīgha* iii., 'Sigālovāda Suttanta,' but 'moments' is superseded by *atthā*, 'advantages' or 'good'—a rare use of the plural form.

Dabba- and kusa-grass and pricking stems,
 And all that hurts in brush and underwood.
 Forth from my breast I'll push and thrust
 away,
 And go where I the growth may cultivate
 Of heart's detachment, lone and separate.¹ (233)

CLXXV

Khuṛja-Sobhita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Pāṭaliputta,² in a brahmin's family, he was named Sobhita. But being a little hunchbacked, he was called Crooked Sobhita. Come of age at the time of the Master's passing away, he was ordained by Ānanda, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now, at the first Great Council in the Sattapaṇṇi Cave, he was bidden fetch Ānanda Thera to the Assembly.³ Now at that time the company of devas sent an angel to stand at the entrance to the Cave to counteract the work of Māra. And Khuṛja-Sobhita announced his own coming to the angel in this verse :

One of the Brethren who in Patna dwell,
 Learned and erudite, lo ! at the door,
 Advanced in years, stands Crooked Sobhita. (234)

¹ = XXVII. ; cf. XXIII. The energy defies in the one case physical delicacy, in the other effeminacy.

² Patna ; cf. *Sisters*, p. 157 n.

³ For Ānanda's late appearance see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 873 ; *Vinaya*, iii. 259. There, Ānanda's access to the Cave through earth or air, in the commentarial legend, is ascribed to our Thera. Curiously enough, the *Vinaya* itself knows of no Khuṛja-Sobhita till the Council of Vesālī, a century later (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 407). That the Council was held in this Cave is not stated in the *Vinaya*, which names only the Kalandaka-nivāpa (squirrels' feeding-ground) in the Veḷuvana (Bamboo Grove). 'Angel' is *devatā* ; lit., deity.

Then the angel informed the Sangha of the Thera's advent:

One of the Brethren who in Patna dwell,
Learned and eloquent, lo! at the door,
Advanced in years, he stands borne by the
winds.¹ (235)

Then the Sangha giving him opportunity, the Thera
approached them and confessed aññā:

Good fight he made, and made good sacrifice,²
And in the battle won:—now by such war,
The fervent following of the holy life,
In happiness he resteth [evermore]. (236)

CLXXVI

Vāraṇa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in Kosala as a brahmin's son, he was named Vāraṇa. Come of age, he heard a Thera preach the Norm in a forest, and believing, entered the Order. One day going to wait upon the Buddha he saw, on the way, a family quarrel, through which some were slain. Distressed, he hastened to the Exalted One, and told him. And the latter, discerning the progress of his mind, exhorted him, saying:

Whoso here causeth fellow-creatures pain,
From this and from the other-world, from both
This man may forfeit all they yield of good.³ (237)
Whoso with loving heart compassion takes
On every fellow-creature, such a man
Doth generate of merit ample store. (238)

¹ His aerial return from Ānanda to the Sangha.

² *Suyitthena* (which comes more naturally from a lapsed brahmin than the martial epithets) the Commentary explains as 'religious gifts from virtuous friends.' The metre of the poem is disturbed by two glosses *samaṇā* and *dvāre*.

³ The last phrase from the Commentary, 'the good and happiness comprised in both worlds.'

Train ye yourselves in pious utterance,
 In waiting ever on the wise and good,
 In haunting secret solitary seat,
 And in the calm and concentrated mind. (239)

When these verses were ended, Vāraṇa, developing insight, won arahantship.

CLXXVII

Passika.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a Kosalan brahmin, he saw the Master work the twin miracle,¹ and believed. Entering the Order he fell ill while performing the studies of a recluse. His own people attended him and healed him. But he, greatly stirred by his recovery, pressed forward his study, and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he went through the air to his own people, and established them in the Refuges and the Precepts. And some of his kin, so established, died and were reborn in heaven. When Passika waited on the Master, the latter asked after the health of his kin. And Passika thus made answer :

Though I alone, 'mong unbelieving kin,
 Had faith and wit enough, discerned the Norm
 And clove to virtue, this was for their good. (240)

For see! mine own folk, whom for pity's sake
 I took to task, roused and rebuked by me,
 Through their affection and their piety
 Constrained, towards the Brethren wrought good
 work. (241)

They who are now gone hence, ending this span,
 They reap much happiness among the gods.
 Brothers of mine are there, my mother too,
 Fain for the pleasures that they now enjoy. (242)

¹ See p. 86, n. 1.

CLXXVIII

Yasoja.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the gate of the city of Sāvattthī in a fisher's village, as the son of the headman of the 500 fishermen's families, he was called Yasoja. Come of age, he was one day fishing with the fishermen's sons in the River Aciravatī. And casting his net, he caught a great gold-coloured fish. They showed it to King Pasenadi, who said : 'The Exalted One will know the cause of the fish's colour.' And the Exalted One told them that the fish had, in Kassapa Buddha's time, been a wicked bhikkhu, who had since then suffered in purgatory ; that his sisters were still there, but that his brother as Thera had perfected life ; and then for their good he taught the Kappila Sutta.¹

Thereupon Yasoja in deep emotion renounced the world, and his companions with him. Of his going with them to wait on the Exalted One at the Jeta-Vana, and of their dismissal because of the noise they made on arriving, the record stands in the Udāna.² Dismissed, and dwelling on the banks of the River Vaggumudā, Yasoja, like a highbred horse, his mettle stirred, strove and toiled till he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereafter the Exalted One sent for him. And he, from practising all the special austerities,³ was emaciated and uncomely. Then the Exalted One commended his self-denial in this verse :

Lo ! here a man with frame so pale and worn ;
 Like knotted stems of cane his joints, and sharp
 Th' emaciated network of his veins.
 In food and drink austere temperate,
 His spirit neither crushed nor desolate. (243)

¹ I cannot identify this Sutta.

² *Udāna*, iii., § 8. In that work it is interesting, in view of the Thera's legend, that the Master, when rebuking Yasoja's followers, compares them to noisy *fishermen*.

³ These were not the self-inflicted tortures of Indian ascetics, but the Dhutangas, all of which are given in the *Milinda*, ii., bk. vi.

And Yasoja so commended, extolled the love of solitude, and taught doctrine thus :

In the great forest, in the mighty woods,
Touched though I be by gadfly and by gnat,
I yet would roam, like warrior-elephant
In van of battle, mindful, vigilant.¹ (244)

Alone a man is even as Brahmā.
And as the angels if he have one mate.
Like to a village is a group of three.
Like to a noisy crowd if more there be. (245)

CLXXIX

Sāṭimattiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the kingdom of Magadha as a brahmin's son, he having the essential conditions² entered the Order among the forest bhikkhus, and through study and practice acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he instructed bhikkhus, and preached to many folk on the Refuges and the Precepts. One family in particular he converted to faith and trust; and in that house he was greatly welcomed, the only daughter, a pretty, lovely girl, respectfully providing him with food.

One day Māra, plotting to disturb and disgrace him, took his shape, and going to the maiden, grasped her hand. But she, feeling that this was no human touch, loosed her hand. But the others in the house saw it and lost faith in the Thera. He, knowing nothing, perceived next day their changed manner. And discerning that Māra had been at work, he vowed to loose the dead dog from their neck, and made them tell him what had happened. And the house-master, hearing his explanation, begged his forgiveness,

¹ = XXXI.

² *I.e.*, maturity of evolution in character.

and declared he himself would wait upon him. The Thera told the matter in these verses :

The trust thou once didst place in me,
 To-day it lives no more. What's thine is thine ;
 But in this house no evil have I done. (246)
 Transient and wavering is the layman's faith :—
 So have I marked. Folk love and then grow cold.
 Why for that should a holy brother die ? (247)
 Cooked stands the sage's food a little here,
 A little there, in one clan or the next.
 I will go round to seek my little alms ;
 My legs are strong enough forsooth for that.¹ (248)

CLXXX

Upāli.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a barber's family, he was named Upāli. Come of age he left the world, following Anuruddha and the other five nobles, when the Exalted One was staying at Anupiyā Grove, as is recorded in the Pali.² Now when he was taking a subject for exercise from the Master, he said : ' Send me not away, Lord, to dwell in the forest.' ' Bhikkhu, you dwelling in the forest, will develop one subject³ only ; if you dwell with us, you will become proficient in both book-knowledge⁴ and insight.' The Thera, consenting to the Master's word, practised for insight, and in due time won arahantship.

¹ This little poem, so simply explained by the Commentary, has for lack of it been twisted into a limping dialogue on Karma, etc., between two bhikkhus. See Neumann, *in loc.*

² See the charming episode, *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224-230.

³ *Dhūray*.

⁴ *Gantha-*, Br. *gandha-dhūray*. With this cf. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, iii. 94 : *ganthe karontā*. Dhammapāla, of course, had palm-leaf manuscripts in mind and a written Vinaya, whereas, in Upāli's case, the Master would probably teach him orally (*uggahapesi*), though heads or subject-words may then have been committed to writing.

Moreover, the Master himself taught him the whole Vinaya-Piṭaka. And later, after Upāli had won the Master's commendation of his decision in the three cases of Ajjuka, the Kurukacchaka bhikkhu and Kumāra-Kassapa, he was ranked first among those who knew the Vinaya.¹

One feast-day, when he was reciting the Pātimokkha,² he thus admonished the brethren :

He who for faith's sake³ hath renounced the world,

And stands a novice in the Order new,
Friends let him choose of noble character,
Pure in their lives, of zeal unfaltering. (249)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order new,
Among the Order let that bhikkhu dwell,
And wisely⁴ learn its code of discipline. (250)

He who for faith's sake hath renounced the world,
And stands a novice in the Order new,
Skilled in what should be done, or left undone,
Let him unaccompanied hold on his way. (251)

¹ See *Vinaya*, iii. 66; 89, and above CLXI. respectively. These are but a tithe of the cases recorded as settled by this notable Dean. Cf. XLV., p. 50, n. 2.

² This—the 'Rules of Disburdenment'—constituted, and still constitutes, a fortnightly ritual (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 1-89).

³ Commentary : *i.e.*, either not in order to gain a living, or believing in the fruit of action and in the excellence of the Gem-Trinity (Buddha, Norm, Order). Upāli's own beginning was not so single-minded, he having joined precisely in order to protect his life. The young nobles gave him their effects to take home, and he, fearing that the Sākiyans might suspect him of murder, hung up the bundle on a tree and followed them.

⁴ *Budho*. The Commentary interprets : *buddhā ti ca pathan ti ; so ev' attho*. The iteration 'novice . . . new' is in the text.

CLXXXI

Uttarapāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family, he was named Uttarapāla.¹ He saw the Twin Miracle,² and believing, entered the Order, and pursued his studies. One day, amid desultory recollections, sensual desires beset him, but after a violent mental struggle, he arrested the corrupting moods (*kilesa's*), and in earnest meditation won arahantship.

Thereupon reflecting on, his victory, he uttered a 'lion-roar':

Me seeming wise, forsooth, and spent enough
 In pondering on the things that make for good,
 Me overthrew fivefold desires of sense,
 Bewilderers [of the reason] of the world. (252)
 Though lodged in Māra's reach, by mighty dart
 Assailed, yet did my strength suffice to win
 From snare set by the King of Death release. (253)
 Now are all sense-desires put far away!
 Now are all rebirths shattered once for aye!
 Destroyed is birth-and-death's eternity!
 Now cometh nevermore rebirth for me! (254)

CLXXXII

Abhibhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a rāja's family at the city of Veṭṭhapūra,³ he was named Abhibhūta, and succeeded to the estate at his father's death. Now when the Exalted

¹ = Guardian of the North.

² See p. 86, n. 1.

³ No other mention of place or rāja is yet traced, but the four middle lines are, in *Samy. Nik.*, i. 156, put in the mouth of one Abhibhu, who was a bhikkhu in the age of Sikhi Buddha, according to a story told by Gotama Buddha.

One arrived at his city on tour, Abhibhūta he went to hear him, and on the morrow offered him hospitality. The Exalted One expressed the thanks he felt, and thereupon taught him the Norm more in detail. Then the rāja found faith, left his estate for the Order, and realized arahantship.

While he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kindred, councillors and retainers came to him lamenting that he had left them without a chief. And he, teaching them the Norm by way of extolling the reason of his renunciation, said :

Hear, O ye kinsmen, and give ear to me,
 All and as many as are gathered here !
 The Norm it is that ye shall learn from me :—
 Painful is birth again and yet again ! (255)
 Bestir yourselves, rise up, renounce and come,
 And yield your hearts unto the Buddha's Rule.
 Shake off the armies of the King of Death
 As doth the elephant a hut of straw.¹ (256)
 Whoso within this righteous discipline
 Shall come with diligence to understand.
 Rebirth's eternal round put far away,
 All pain and suffering he shall end for aye.² (257)

CLXXXIII

Gotama.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the Sākiyan clan, he came to be known only by his gens name. He found faith when the Master visited his kinsfolk, and entering the Order and studying for insight, acquired sixfold abhiññā. Now, while

¹ Cf. verse 1147.

² These last eight lines are elsewhere assigned to the Buddha, four by Nāgasena (*Milinda*, ii. 60), and four in the Book of the Great Decease (*Dialogues*, ii. 128). The former is also so assigned in *Kathā Vatthu*. ii. 3, and in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 300, but to the gods (*ibid.*, p. 569) and to the bhikkhu Abhibhu in *Saṃy. Nik.*, i. 156 f.

he was dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, his kinsfolk asked him one day why he had put them aside and gone forth. And he, to show both the ill he had suffered in Saṃsāra and the happiness of Nibbāna which he then had gotten, said :

Lo! as I fared through being, I came to the kingdom
infernal,

So to the dolorous realm of the Petas, times without
number.

Evil¹ befell me again in manifold shapes of the
beast-world. (258)

Glad enough reborn as human, rarely I won to the
heavens.

Yea, in the realms of vision, in realms where all
sense was abolished

Have I been placed, and in realms 'twixt conscious-
ness and the unconscious.² (259)

All this becoming lies clearly before me as void of
real value,

Born of preceding conditions, unstable and con-
stantly drifting.

So comprehending the coming to be of this self of
me, heedful,

Came I at length to find Peace, yea, the Peace
[wherein I am resting]. (260)

CLXXXIV

Harita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family, he fell into the habit, from pride of birth, of calling other men low-born. Even after he had heard the Norm, and believed and entered the Order, he persisted from the

¹ The oddly redundant *dukkhamamhi* the Commentary gives in the verse, but restates in paraphrasing as *dukkhamhi*.

² On these planes of existence see *Compendium*, p. 137 ff.

cumulative force of the habit. But one day, after hearing the Master preach, he reviewed his own mental procedure, and was distressed to mark the surrender to conceit and arrogance. Expelling it all, he conjured up insight and won arahantship. Thereafter, dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he testified to aññā in thus admonishing the bhikkhus :¹

He who is fain to-morrow to perform
The things that he should yesterday have done,
Forfeit of happy opportunity,
He shall anon repent him fierily. (261)
Let him but talk of that which should be done ;
Let him not talk of what should not be done !
Of him who talketh much but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
worth. (262)
O great, O wondrous is Nibbāna's bliss,
Revealed by Him, the Utterly Awake !
There comes no grief, no passion, haven sure,
Where ill and ailing perish evermore ! (263)

CLXXXV

Vimala.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Benares in a brahmin family, he entered the Order under Thera Amitta,² and through his instigation acquired insight and won arahantship. Thereupon he admonished a bhikkhu who was his comrade as follows :

From evil-minded friends keep far away,
And make thy choice among the best of men.

Harita's psalm is identical with Bākula's (CLXXII.). Cf. also the Harita of XXIX., also a brahmin of Sāvatthī.

¹ On this curious name (? Amita) cf. *Jāt.*, vi. 271.

To his advice hold fast, and let thy heart
Aspire to happiness immutable. (264)
As¹ one who, mounted on a puny plank,
Is in mid-ocean whelmed beneath the waves,
So even he of blameless life doth sink,
When thrown together with the man of sloth. (265)
Wherefore from such an one keep well apart,
The sluggard and the poor in energy.
Dwell thou with them who live aloof,
With wise, with noble souls who have renounced,
Who in rapt contemplation ever strive. (266)

¹ See above, CXXXIV. This Thera is not met with elsewhere, nor is Vimala identical with the author of Psalm L.

CANTO IV

PSALMS OF FOUR VERSES

CLXXXVI

Nāgasamāla.

REBORN in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he made the perishableness of life his principle, and, conjuring up insight, attained arahantship. He there-upon testified to aññā, as occurring in his own experience, thus :

Bedecked with trinkets and with pretty frock,
Wreathèd with flowers, raddled with sandal
wood,
In the main street, before the multitude
A nautch girl danced to music's fivefold sound.¹ (267)
Into the city I had gone for alms,
And passing I beheld the dancer decked
In brave array, like snare of Māra laid. (268)
Thereat arose in me the deeper thought :²
Attention to the fact and to the cause.
The misery of it all was manifest ;
Distaste, indifference the mind possessed. (269)

¹ The five instruments usually grouped as *turiya* are three sorts of tom-toms, cymbals (?), and pipe or flute 'Nautch girl' is *nari*—lit., woman—and *naṭṭakī*, dancer.

² *Yoniso manasikāro*. The Commentary paraphrases by analyzing the sight of that which was intended to appeal to sense and emotion. Distaste, etc. : Cy. has *sampatiṭṭhathūti . . . hadayaṃ saṃhūsi*.

And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done.¹ (270)

CLXXXVII

Bhagu.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Sākiyan rājas, he left the world, together with his clansmen, Anuruddha and Kimbila, and dwelt by the village of Bālakalona.² And one day, when he had left his cell to discipline his tendency to sloth and torpor, he fell as he was stepping up on to the terrace. Using this as his goad,³ he accomplished self-mastery, and developing insight, he won arahantship. Thereupon, as he was living in the bliss of fruition, the bliss of Nibbāna, the Master, coming to congratulate him on his solitude, asked him: 'How now, bhikkhu, do you continue in earnest?' And he assenting, replied:

Foredone by drowth I gat me from my cell
 For exercise, and climbed the terrace-steps,
 And fell thereby all drowsy to the earth. (271)
 Chafing my limbs, once more I mounted up;
 And while on terrace to and fro I went,
 Within 'twas all alert, composed, intent. (272)
 Thereat arose in me the deeper thought:
 Attention to the fact and to the cause. . . .

¹ It is not possible to be sure that this Nāgasamāla is the Thera so named who was occasionally the Buddha's attendant on his walks. Cf. CCLX.; *Majjh. Nik.*, i. 48; *Udāna*, viii. 7; *Jāt.*, iv. 95.

² On these see above (CXVIII., n. 4) and below (CCLVI.). The visit by the Buddha, without the incident of the tumble, is recorded, *Majjh. Nik.*, iii. 154; *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 308, where the village has '-kāra' added to its name. Cf. *Jāt.*, i., No. 10; *Milinda*, i. 163. The village was a suburb of Kosambī on the Jumna.

³ Cf. *Sisters*, xvii.

The misery of it all was manifest;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed; (273)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm!
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (274)

This was the Thera's confession of aññā.

CLXXXVIII

Sabhiya.

In the time of our Exalted One he took rebirth as the son of a nobleman's daughter, whose parents had committed her to the charge of a Wanderer, that she might learn other doctrines and usages. Sabhiya, when grown up, also became a Wanderer, and learning various recitations, became a great dialectician, and found none to equal him. Making his hermitage by the city gate, he gave lessons to the children of noblemen and others, and devised twenty questions, which he asked recluses and brahmins. In the narrative to the Sabhiya-Sutta it is handed down, that a Brahmā god from the Pure Abodes devised the questions.¹ There, too, it is told how the Exalted One, when he came to Rājagaha, to the Bamboo Grove, so answered the questions, that Sabhiya believed on him, and entering the Order, established insight and won arahantship.

But after this it was in admonishing the bhikkhus who sided with the seceding Devadatta that he spoke these verses:

People can never really understand
 That we are here but for a little spell.²

¹ See *Sutta-Nipāta*, verses 510-547. Of the verses here ascribed to Sabhiya, 275, 277 = *Dhammapada*, verses 6, 312, verse 6 being there, as in *Vin. Texts*, ii. 306 f., put into the mouth of the Buddha addressing the quarrelsome Kosambī bhikkhus.

² 'People': 'All except the wise.' Cy. Line 2: 'We walk constantly near to Death.' (Cy.) This reading is vindicated by the opposed: 'as they immortals were,' next verse.

But they who grasp this truth indeed,
 Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate. (275)
 And whereas they who cannot understand,
 Deport themselves as they immortals were,
 They who can really understand the Norm
 Are as the hale amid a world diseased.¹ (276)
 All flaccid action, all corrupted rites,
 All mischief-making in religious life :
 On all such work follows no high reward. (277)
 He who among his fellow-brethren wins
 No reverence is far from the good Norm,
 As is the firmament far from the earth. (278)

CLXXXIX

Nandaka.

Reborn in the time of our Exalted One at Sāvattihī in a clansman's family, he was called Nandaka. He entered the Order after hearing the Master¹ teach the Norm, and developing insight won arahantship. Thereafter, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he gave a lesson by the Master's order one feast-day to the bhikkhunis, and caused 500 of them to attain arahantship. Wherefore the Exalted One ranked him foremost among the exhorters of the brethren and sisters.²

Now, one day, while seeking alms in Sāvattihī, a woman, to whom he had been married, saw him and laughed with

¹ This line = *Dhammapada*, verse 198 (half the śloka). It is interesting to note that the Commentary on verse 6 of the *Dhammapada* is verbatim the same as that by *Dhammapāla*, while that on verse 312 is nearly so.

² *Ang.*, i. 25. The successful lesson is told in the Nandakovāda-Sutta (*Majjh.*, iii. 270). The Anguttara Commentary leads up to that Sutta, but the occasion of these verses finds a fuller preface in the story it tells of Nanda, the Buddha's stepbrother (CXXXIX.). He, infatuated with a beautiful woman, is by the Master shown the nymphs in Sakka's heaven, and finds her plain as an ape in comparison.

sinful heart. The Thera, seeing her action, taught her the Norm under the aspect of emphasizing repugnance at the body, thus :

Fie on the fulsome thing malodorous !
 A very tool of Māra, even this,
 Thy body, whence exude those many streams,
 In number nine, that never cease their flow. (279)
 Build no conceits from former passages.
 Try not to allure the Elect-who-Thus-have-Come !¹
 The very heavens delight them not, how then
 Should aught that's merely earthly ever please ?² (280)
 The fools who lack discretion, they whose mind
 Is sullied, and their heart by dulness cloaked,
 Such men in charms of body take delight,
 For they are fast in bonds by Māra thrown. (281)
 To them who are untouched by lust, or hate,
 Or ignorance, these things no pleasures be.
 Cut are the cords ; they from all bonds are free. (282)

CXC

Jambuka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a very poor family,† he inclined, as in a previous birth, to feeding on excrement, and left the world to be a naked ascetic. Practising many austerities, and eating beans one by one on the point of a straw, he was fifty-five years old when the Exalted One, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, himself went to him, and teach-

¹ *Tathāgate*, made here by the Commentary to include all Buddha-sāvakas, or Ariya-sāvakas, who have 'come' with the conditions for saintship, or have attained the highest, are *avabuddhā*.

² I do not here follow Dr. Neumann's syntax. The woman's power to please humans was a source of danger. She was only incapable of moving *tathāgatas*, or saints, who have won ineffable pleasures.

ing him the Norm, converted him. Then said he : 'COME, BHIKKHU!' thereby ordaining him.¹ And Jambuka thereupon conjuring up insight, the Master established him in arahantship. This is in outline, but a full account is given in the Commentary on the Dhammapada verse :

*Bean after bean by point of straw. . . .*²

At the hour of his passing away he showed that, though once wrongly living, he, by leaning on the Buddha Supreme, had gotten where a disciple ought to get, thus :

For five and fifty years covered with dust
 And dirt, eating a dinner once a month,³
 And pulling out my hair from head and face, (283)
 On one leg would I stand, I used no couch,
 Dry dung I ate, nor would accept when bid. (284)
 So wrought I actions leading to much woe
 And ruin, swept along by mighty flood,
 Till I a refuge in the Buddha found :— (285)
 O see how to that Refuge I am come !
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (286)

CXCI

Senaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin family, as the son of the sister of the Thera Kassapa of Uruvelā, he was named Senaka.⁴ When he had learnt the brahmins' Vedic

¹ See p. 105, n. 2.

² Verse 70 (*Commentary*, ii. 52-68). / The literary reference is of interest, but it does not enable us to say that the *Dhammapada Commentary* referred to is positively that which we now have in Pali. Jambuka is referred to in *Milinda*, ii. 249.

³ The extreme interval given in the list of austerities occurring more than once in *Dīgha-Nikāya* is twice a month—e.g., *Dialogues*, i. 229.

⁴ Brahmins of this name are in *Jāt.*, iii., No. 401; vi., No. 546. For the uncle's psalm, see CCX.

culture, he dwelt with his family. And at that time the people held a festival every year in the former half of March (Phaggūna),¹ and a baptizing at the landing-stage,² the festival being called the Gayā-Lent.

Then the Exalted One, out of compassion for those who could be led, stayed near that riverside. And when the people assembled, Senaka came too, and hearing the Master teaching the Norm, was converted, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereafter, reflecting on his victory, he was filled with joy, and breathed forth this psalm :

O welcome was to me that day of spring,
When at Gayā, at Gayā's river-feast,
I saw the Buddha teach the Norm supreme, (287)
Saw the great Light, Teacher of multitudes,
Him who hath won the highest, Guide of all,
The Conqueror of men and gods, unrivalled
Seer. (288)

Mighty magician, hero glorious,
Far-shining splendour, pure, immune of mind,³
The Master who hath slain all āsavas,
And hath attained that where no fear can
come.⁴ (289)

Long lay I bound and harassed by the ties
Of sect and dogma—ah! but now 'tis He,
The Blessed Lord hath rescued Senaka
From every bond and set at liberty. (290)

¹ Phaggūna, or Phalguṇa, fell half in February, half in March.

² *Titthūbbiseka*. What sort of 'baptizing'—lit., sprinkling—went on, whether of infants, scholars, or of religious confession, it is not easy to divine. According to Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, the river (Nerāṇjarā) itself was known as the Phalgu. Dr. Neumann says the town of Gayā is itself so called (*Majjh.-Nik.*, translation, i. 271. Cf. the very suggestive photograph in the *Sisters*, p. 184, of a modern riverside gathering at Gayā.

³ *Āndava*. The Thera here repeats himself a little.

⁴ A frequent epithet of Nibbāna.

CXCII

Sambhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clansman's family, he was converted, after the Exalted One had passed away, by the Treasurer of the Norm.¹ And entering the Order, he developed insight and attained arahantship. So he lived in the bliss of emancipation till, a century after the Parinibbāna of the Exalted One, the Vajjian brethren of Vesālī put forward the ten theses, and were resisted by the Thera Niyasa² and the Kākandakan brethren, and a recension of Norm and Vinaya was made by 700 arahants. Then the Thera, moved by righteous emotion at the proposed perversion of Dhamma and Vinaya, uttered these verses, testifying thereby to aññā :

He who decides in season meet for pause,
And he who dallies when he should decide,³
This fool by want of plan and principle
Doth journey hence to suffer many ills. (291)
Rewards that should be his do melt away,
As in the dark weeks melts the waning moon.
Dishonour he incurs, at variance with his friends. (292)

He who is slow in season meet for pause,
Who crosses when 'twere wrong to hesitate,
This wise man by his plan and principle
Doth surely win his way to happiness. (293)
The gains that shall be his wax ripe and full,
As in bright weeks doth wax the crescent moon.
Honour, renown he wins, at one with friends. (294)

¹ A title bestowed on the Thera Ānanda.

² On the Council of Vesālī (*Vinaya Texts*, vol. iii., chap. xii.). The Thera Sambhūta 'Hemp-robed' (Sāṇavāsīn)—was one of the organizers of this difficult and delicate campaign of reform.

³ Lit., crosses. See below.

CXIII

Rāhula.

Reborn in this Buddha-age through our Bodhisat, as the son of Princess Yasodhārā, he was reared with a great retinue of nobles. The circumstances of his entering the Order are recorded in the Khandhaka.¹ And he, his knowledge ripened by gracious words in many Sutta passages,² conjured up insight, and so won arahantship. Thereupon, reflecting on his victory, he confessed aññā :

Twice blest of fortune am I whom my friends
 Call 'Lucky Rāhula.' For I am both
 Child of the Buddha and a Seer of truths; (295)
 Yea, and intoxicants are purged from me;
 Yea, and there's no more coming back to be.
 Ar'hant am I, worthy men's offerings;
 'Thrice skilled' my ken is of ambrosial things. (296)

Blinded are beings by their sense-desires,
 Spread o'er them like a net; covered are they
 By cloak of craving; by their heedless ways
 Caught as a fish in mouth of funnel-net,³ (297)
 But I, that call of sense abandoning,
 Have cut and snapt the bonds of devil's lure.
 Craving with craving's root abolishing;
 Cool am I now; extinct is fever's fire.⁴ (298)

CXCIV

Candana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a wealthy clan, and named Candana, he lived a domestic life till he

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i. 208 f.

² *E.g.*, *Majjhima*, Nos. 62; 147; *Saṃyutta*, iii. 185 f., etc.

³ *Kuminūmukhe*. The *kuminū*, paraphrased by *pasābbaka*, a funnel-shaped net, probably resembling our weir-traps.

⁴ *Nibbuto*. This is nearer to the Buddhist idea than the rendering given to this line in the *Sisters*, p. 19; see n. 4.

heard the Master preach the Norm ; and became thereupon a Stream-winner.¹ When a child was born to him, he left his home for the Order, and taking an insight exercise, dwelt in the forest. Coming into Sāvattthī to salute the Master, he stayed in a charnel-field. And his wife, hearing of his coming, adorned herself, and, taking her child and many attendants, approached him, judging that by her attractions she could induce him to secede from the Order. He, seeing her coming from afar, thought : ‘ Now will I get outside her reach ! ’ And he so conjured up insight that he acquired sixfold abhiññā. Thereupon he rose aloft, and so taught her the Norm, establishing her in the Refugés and the Precepts. Then he went back to his former haunts. And when his bhikkhu comrades asked him, saying, ‘ Serene are you looking, brother ; what truths have you discerned ? ’² he told of his achievement, and testified to aññā in these verses :

In golden gear bedecked, a troop of maids
 Attending in her train, bearing the babe
 Upon her hip, my wife drew near to me. (299)
 I marked her coming, mother of my child,
 In brave array like snare of Māra laid. (300)
 Thereat arose in me the deeper thought :³
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest ;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed ; (301)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids me do is done. (302)

¹ Or convert.

² *Kacci tayā saccāni paṭividdhūnīti ?* I commend this noble question to the attention of students in comparative hagiology.

³ Repeating verses 269, 270.

CXC.V

Dhammika.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a family of Kosalan brahmins, and named Dhammika, he won faith at the presentation of the Jeta Grove, and entered the Order. Becoming a resident at a village Vihāra, he grew impatient and irritable over the duties of incoming bhikkhus,¹ so that the latter abandoned the Vihāra. Thus he became sole master of the Vihāra. And a layman reported this to the Exalted One. The Master sent for Dhammika, and asked him to explain. Thereupon he said: 'Not only now are you impatient; you were so formerly also'; and at the bhikkhus' request he gave a 'tree-talk' on the Norm, with admonition over and above, as follows:

Well doth the Norm protect him in sooth who follows
the Norm.

Happiness bringeth along in its train the Norm well
practised.

This shall be his reward by whom the Norm is well
practised:

Never goeth to misery he who doth follow the
Norm. (303)

For not of like result are right and wrong:

Wrong leads to baleful, right, to happy doom. (304)

Wherefore let will be applied to [master] the things
that we know.

So let him hail with delight so welcome a blessing as
this.²

¹ For an account of the many sources of petty annoyance arising herefrom, see *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 272 ff.

² I.e., according to the Commentary, the privilege of a Buddha's admonition. The double reversion to the śloka (ll. 5, 6; 11, 12) in this gāthā, which is in irregular Triṣṭubh metre, is indicated above by corresponding changes. The four gāthās, indeed, bear so little on Dhammika's offence, and vary so in metre, that they suggest a patched compilation.

Firm in the Welcome One's Norm the disciples fare
onward,

Valiantly following Him, their sovereign Refuge. (305)

Plucked out the root of all this cancerous lump,¹

The net of craving wholly torn away,

The round of life renewed hath ceased,

And naught of clinging doth remain,

E'en as the moon on fifteenth day

Sails in clear sky without a stain. (306)

When the Master had taught three of the verses, Dhammika, bearing them in mind, developed insight even as he sat, and won arahantship. And to show the transformation in himself to the Master, he declared aññā by the last verse.

CXCVI

Sabbaka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a brahmin family and named Sabbaka, he heard the Exalted One teaching the Norm, and believing, entered the Order. Taking an exercise, he went to the Loṇagiri Vihāra on the banks of the river Ajakaraṇī, and there in due time won arahantship. Going thereupon to salute the Master at Sāvattthī, he stayed a little while, entertained by his kinsfolk. And having confirmed them in the Refuges and the Precepts, he was anxious to return to his dwelling. They begged him to stay and be supported by them. But he, showing them why he had come, and declaring his love of retirement by praise of his dwelling-place, said :

Whene'er I see the crane, her clear bright wings

Outstretched in fear to flee the black stormcloud,

A shelter seeking, to safe shelter borne,

Then doth the river Ajakaraṇī

Give joy to me. (307)

¹ The 'lump' is the five khandhas (body and mind), the 'root' is ignorance (Commentary).

Whene'er I see the crane, her plumage pale
 And silver white outstretched in fear to flee
 The black stormcloud, seeing no refuge nigh,
 The refuge seeking of the rocky cave,
 Then doth the river Ajakaraṇī
 Give joy to me. (308)

Who doth not love to see on either bank
 Clustered rose-apple trees in fair array
 Behind the great cave [of my hermitage]¹ (309)
 Or hear the soft croak of the frogs, well rid
 Of their undying mortal foes proclaim :
 'Not from the mountain-streams is't time to-day
 To flit. Safe is the Ajakaraṇī.
 She brings us luck. Here is it good to be.'² (310)

Then the relatives suffered him to depart. And because he showed herein his delight in empty places, this became the Thera's confession of aññā.

CXCVII

Mudita.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a Kosalan commoner, he was named Mudita. When he was come of age, his clan for some reason became objectionable⁴ to the king. Mudita, terrified of the king, ran away,³ and

¹ The jambū-tree is evergreen ; its boughs bent with fruit ; its glossy foliage affords shade (Commentary).

² I do not find allusion elsewhere to this little river. It may well have been the name of a tributary of the Aciravatī flowing past Sāvattthī (see CLXXII.). In the line preceding the burden of the frogs' croak, text and both versions of the Commentary are at variance, and I do not pretend to have solved that which will be discussed more appropriately in an edition of the Commentary. The exact meaning is not vitally important to a poem in which the essential charm lies in its gentle paganism. That *sangha* can be used for a flock, say, of cranes, see *Milindapañha*, p. 403.

³ Cf. CCXI. Mudita signifies complacent, glad. Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 65, n. 1.

entering the forest, approached the dwelling of an arahant Thera. The latter, seeing his terror, bade him fear not, and reassured him. 'How long, your reverence, will it take before I am free from danger?' 'When seven or eight months have passed.' 'I cannot wait so long; I will leave the world, your reverence; ordain me!' So he begged, to protect his life. The Thera ordained him. And he, coming to believe in the doctrine, lost his fears and exercised himself for insight. Failing to win arahantship, he vowed not to leave his retreat till he had, and thereupon succeeded. Thereafter experiencing the bliss of emancipation, he was asked as to his success by his fellow-bhikkhus. And he told them how he had succeeded, thus :

I left the world that I might save my life,
 And, once ordained, I won back faith and hope ;
 Valiant in energy I onward pressed. (311)
 Now an it must be, let this body break
 And waste and let its flesh consume,
 My limbs let falter at the knee and fail ; (312)
 I¹ will not eat nor will I drink again,
 Nor from this lodging let me issue forth,
 Nor will I even lie upon my side,
 While yet the dart of Craving lies undrawn ! (313)
 Thus steadfast I abiding—O behold
 And mark the forward stride of energy :
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done ! (314)

¹ = verses 223, 224 (Paccaya, CLXXI.).

CANTO V

PSALMS OF FIVE VERSES

CXCVIII

Rājadatta.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in a caravan-leaders' family, his parents called him Rājadatta ('given by the king'), because they had obtained him through praying to Vessavaṇa, the great firmament deity.¹ Come of age, he once took 500 carts of merchandise to Rājagaha. Now there he squandered all his money, spending a thousand a day on a beautiful courtesan, so that he was penniless and had not enough to eat, and wandered about in wretchedness. So he came with other laymen to the Bamboo Grove, where the Master sat teaching the Norm to a great congregation. And Rājadatta, seated at the fringe of the assembly, heard and believed, and entered the Order. Undertaking the Dhutangas,² he dwelt in a charnel-field.

Now another caravan-leader also spent his thousand on the courtesan, and wore on his hand a ring of great value, which she coveted. She got men to steal it, but the owner's servants told the police,³ and they raided her house, slew her, and cast her body into the charnel-field.

The Thera Rājadatta, walking therein to find a foul object for meditation, noticed this corpse. For a while

¹ One of four so-called Great Kings, each presiding over a quarter of the visible world; called also Kuvera, he presided over the northern quarter (*Dialogues*, ii. 287 f.).

² Supererogatory austerities (*Milinda*, ii., book vi.).

³ *Avacīrakamanussā* (?). I have not found the word elsewhere, and only guess at the meaning.

he concentrated his attention, but the portions of her yet unmangled by dogs and jackals distracted him and all but overmastered him. Much distraught, he exhorted his heart, and went away for a brief space ; then recommencing, he induced jhāna, confirmed his insight, and so won arahantship.

Thereupon, reflecting on his success and filled with zest and joy, he said :

A bhikkhu to the charnel-field had gone,
 And there he saw a woman's body cast
 Untended 'mid the dead, the food of worms. (315)
 Most men had felt repugnance at the sight,
 Seeing the corpse, the poor dead evil thing.
 In me was sensual passion manifest,
 And I became as blind and lost control. (316)
 But swifter from that place than seething rice
 Could boiling overflow, I turned and fled ;¹
 Aside elsewhere I took my seat cross-legged,
 In heedful and discriminating mood. (317)
 Thereon arose in me the deeper thought :²
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest.
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed ; (318)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (319)

CXCIX

Subhūta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a commoner of Magadha, and named Subhūta, his disposition to seek

¹ The Commentary explains as follows: *yāvatī kālēna supari-dhotatintataṇḍulanīhiyā odanaṃ paccati, tato, oram eva kālaṃ, tato lahukālēna rāgaṃ vinodento.*

= verses 269, 270.

escape caused him to quit domestic life and to join sectarian ascetics. Finding among them nothing genuine, and seeing the happiness enjoyed by Upatissa, Kolita, Sela¹ and others, after they had entered the Order, he believed in our doctrine and entered also. After winning the favour of his teachers and preceptors, he went into retreat with an exercise. And developing insight he won arahantship.

Thereupon he declared aññā by reviewing the suffering he had endured by self-mortification, and his subsequent happiness in jhāna, etc. :

A man who yokes himself to things unfit,
Desiring² to accomplish work therein,
If seeking he doth not attain, his quest
Doth bear the intrinsic markings of mis-
chance. (320)

If he surrender but one [vantage-point]
Of misery[’s source] drawn out and overcome,
Like luckless throw of dice his state may be.
But if he throw all [he hath gained] away,
No better is he than a blinded man,
Who sees not if the road be smooth or rough.³ (321)

Of him who talketh much, but doeth not,
Wise men take stock, and rate him at his
worth. (322)

¹ Upatissa is Sāriputta, Kolita is Moggallāna. See CCLIX., CCLXIII., CCLIII. The two former were of his own country; Sela was from the country lying north of Magadha.

² According to the Commentary we are to read *icchato* as = *icchanto*. Dr. Oldenberg supports this by parallels from *Sisters*, verse 240:

‘Who, ignorant (*ajānato*) to the ignorant, hath told thee this?’
for *ajānanto* (*Saṃy.*, i. 11; *Dīpavaṃsa*, xxi., verse 2).

³ The metre of this one gāthā is very curious and irregular, nor can the Commentary throw much light on its original phraseology. It decides that *aghatay* stands for three *agghāni*’s (miseries) viz., greed, hate, and illusion. The Br. MS. makes no attempt to correct this term by references to value (*aggha*), as does the S. MS. Yet this gāthā fits in better with the legend than do the platitudes that follow (=verse 226). It is the language of one who has sacrificed his all to win.

Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 But lacking odour, so is uttered word
 That barren proves, by action not made good. (323)
 Just as a beauteous flower of lovely hue
 And fragrant odour, so is uttered word
 That fruitful proves, in action holding good.¹ (324)

CC

Girimānanda.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of King Bimbisāra's chaplain, he was named Girimānanda. He saw the power and majesty of a Buddha when the Master attended the meeting at Rājagaha, and he entered the Order. During his studies he stayed awhile at a village, then came back to the town to salute the Master. And Bimbisāra the maharāja heard of his coming, and going to him, said : ' Do you dwell here, your reverence ; I will supply your needs.' But from his much business he forgot, so that the Thera dwelt in the open. And the weather-gods held off the rain for fear of wetting the Thera. Then the king, noting the drought, built him a hermitage. And the Thera, sheltered in his hut, put forth all his efforts, and combining energy and calm, conjured up insight and won arahantship. Then, delighted at its advent, he confessed aññā while the rain fell from above :

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Therein I dwell, my heart serene and calm.
 Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain ! (325)

God rains as 'twere a melody most sweet.
 Snug is my little hut, sheltered, well-roofed.
 Therein I dwell, and peace within my heart.
 Now, etc. (326)

¹ = *Dhammapaḍa*, verses 51, 52.

.....

Therein I dwell, all passion purged away.

..... (327)

.....

Therein I dwell, all hatred purged away.

..... (328)

.....

Therein I dwell, all error purged away.

Now an it pleaseth thee to rain, god, rain! ¹ (329)

CCI

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the family of a commoner of Kosala, and named Sumana, he grew up in happy circumstances. His mother's brother became an arahant, dwelling in the forest, and when Sumana came of age, this uncle ordained him, giving him exercises on ethical conduct. Finally, when the four jhānas and fivefold² abhiññā were acquired, the Thera showed him the way of insight, so that he soon acquired arahantship. And when he went to his uncle and was asked concerning his success, he thus made confession :

That which my teacher wished that I should
know

In doctrines good, and of his kindness taught
To me who longed for the Ambrosial :

That now, even the task prescribed, is done. (330)

Yea, won and realized is the Norm

E'en for my own, not learnt 'as such and such.'³

¹ Cf. I. and LI.-LIV. There is such a uniformity in these references to a carelessly benevolent patron that the six poems and their legends lose individual validity.

² See p. 32, n. 1. He only lacked *Āsavakkhaya*.

³ *Dhammo anītiho*, a favourite expression in the *Sutta-Nipāta*. See Fausbøll's translation and notes, verses 934 1052, 1065, 1080, 1083, 1134 ; cf. *Majjh.*, i. 520.

Pure lore is mine, dispelled is every doubt.
 Let me stand near to thee and testify : (331)
 I know the where and when of former lives,
 And clearly shines the Eye Celestial ;
 The Good Supreme, Ar'hantship, have I won,¹
 And what the Buddha bids us do is done. (332)
 Well have I learnt, who used all diligence,
 The method and the training in thy rule ;
 For all th' Intoxicants are purged away ;
 Now cometh never more the life renewed. (333)
 Noble thy cult and thou hast guided me.
 Compassionate, 'tis thou hast favoured me.
 Thine admonitions have not proved inept.
 Once an apprentice, now am I adept. (334)

CCII

Vaḍḍha.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at the city of Bharukaccha in a commoner's clan, and named Vaḍḍha, he grew up in due course.² Now his mother, distressed at the continuity of rebirth and death, entrusted her son to her kinsfolk, and entered the Order among the bhikkhunīs. She thereafter won arahantship. Her son, too, entered the Order under Thera Veludanta, and learning the Buddha-Word, became learned and eloquent in preaching. And one day, feeling the responsibility of office, he thought : ' I will go alone and see my mother, nor put on my cloak.' So he went to the

¹ *Sadattho ti arahattaṃ* (Commentary).

² *Anupubbena vaḍḍhati*. This (here) unusual turn of phrase refers doubtless to his name, which means 'growth,' 'increase.' The mother's story is given in the *Sisters*, lxii. ff. She speaks also for him, but except for the 'spur'—literally, 'goad'—motive and the 'jungle,' she places a different psalm in his mouth, a by-proof of the difference in authorship (see Introduction). The wearing undergarments as outer—i.e., leaving the *cīvara* behind—is commented on in Vinaya discipline (*Vinaya*, iv. 281). Presumably the Thera herein put his sonship before his office.



TEACHER AND PUPIL IN CEYLON.

'Noble thy cult, and thou hast guided me.'

bhikkhunīs' quarters. His mother, seeing him, rebuked him : 'Why are you come here alone and without your cloak ?' And he, convicted in doing that which was unfit, returned to his Vihāra, and seated in the day-room, there attained arahantship, testifying to aññā under the aspect of ascribing his achievement to his mother's admonition :

O well in sooth my mother used the goad !
 I marked her word, and by my parent taught,
 I stirred up effort, put forth all my strength,
 And won the goal, th' enlightenment supreme. (335)
 Ar'hant am I, meet for men's offerings.¹
 Thrice wise, th' ambrosial vision I behold ;
 Conquered is Namuci and all his host,²
 And now I dwell henceforth sane and immune. (336)
 Yea, the intoxicants that once were there,
 Within, without me,³ are extracted clean ;
 Nought doth remain nor may they re-appear. (337)
 Lo ! wise and ripe in grace the Sister⁴ was,
 Who spake this word of pregnant good to me :
 For thee now even as for me, [my son,]
 No jungle of the mind doth bar the way. (338)
 A final barrier is made to Ill.
 Last mortal frame is this, to which belongs
 The way world without end of birth and death,
 Nor ever cometh more rebirth [for thee]. (339)

CCIII

Kassapa of the River.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Magadha brahmins, as the brother of Uruvela-Kassapa, his religious inclination made him dislike domestic life, and he became an

¹ = verses 296, 516.

² Namūci, a name for Māra.

³ I.e., *bahiddhavatthukā*, 'having external bases or causes'—e.g., objects of sense, misguided teachers, heavens, etc.

⁴ *Bhaginī*, lit., sister.

ascetic. With 300 ascetics he carried on a hermit's life on the banks of the River Nerañjarā, and thus he became known, by his habit and the name of his gens, as Kassapa of the River. Now how the Exalted One ordained him and his company by the summons, 'COME, BHĪKKHU,' is recorded in the Khandaka.¹ He was confirmed in arahantship by the Exalted One's sermon on Burning. Thereafter reflecting on his achievement, he confessed aññā by way of extolling his rooting out of error :

O truly for my good it was that He,
The Buddha came to the Nerañjarā,
Whose doctrine hearing, I renounced wrong
views. (340)

The celebrant in many a sacrifice,
I fostered sacred fire, oblations made ;
'These be the pure and holy rites!' methought—
O blind and average worldling that I was ! (341)
Errant in wilderness of heresies,
By their contagion dazed and led astray,
I deemed *that* pure religion which was false.
And blinded was I, shiftless, ignorant. (342)

Now is all error put away for me ;
Broken the line of comings back to be.
Worth every gift, the Fire I celebrate :²
I worship 'Him who on This Wise hath
Come.' (343)

Illusions all have I put far away.
Crushed is the thirst for going on to be,
And shattered is the endless round of life.
Now cometh nevermore rebirth for me ! (344)

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i. 118-185.

² *The Sammāsambuddha* (Commentary).

CCIV

Kassapa of Gayā.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a brahmin clan [his story resembles that of Kassapa of the River, save that his company numbered 200, and that he dwelt at Gayā].¹ He confessed aññā by exalting the washing away of evil, thus :

At morn, at noonday, at the eventide
 Thrice in the day I gat me at Gayā
 Down in the water at Gayā's spring feast,²
 For 'sins that I have done in other births, (345)
 In days gone by, those here and now hereby
 I wash away' :—thus did I once believe. (346)
 I heard a voice that uttered winning words,
 Whereof the burden wedded Norm and Good.
 And on their meaning, true and genuine,
 I pondered much and reasoned earnestly. (347)
 Now from all evil am I truly bathed,
 Cleansèd from error, pure, immaculate.
 In purity heir of the Purified,
 His child, even the Buddha's very son. (348)
 For I have plunged into the Eightfold Stream,
 And every evil thing I've washed away.
 The Threefold Wisdom have I found and won,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (349)

CCV

Vakkali.

Reborn in the time of our Master at Sāvattthī in a brahmin clan, they named him Vakkali. When he had grown wise and had learnt the three Vedas, and was

¹ Oddly enough, the Commentary does not mention his relationship to Uruvelā-Kassapa, nor to Kassapa of the River. See *Vinaya Texts*, *loc. cit.*

² The Commentary repeats (*cf.* above, p. 181) that the annual sacramental festival in the month of Phagguṇa is here alluded to, and not the name of the town only, as Dr. Neumann holds.

proficient in brahmin accomplishments, he saw the Master. Never sated by looking at the perfection of the Master's visible body, he went about with him. And when in his house he thought: 'I shall not [here] get a chance of seeing Him constantly'; so he entered the Order, and spent all his time, save at his meals and toilet, doing nothing else but contemplating the Exalted One. The Master, waiting¹ for the maturity of his insight, for a long while made no comment; then one day he said: 'What is to thee, Vakkali, this foul body that thou seest? He who seeth the Norm, he it is that seeth me. For seeing the Norm he seeth me, and seeing me he seeth the Norm.' At the Master's words, Vakkali ceased to look, but he was unable to go away. Hence the Master thinking: 'This bhikkhu, if he get not deeply moved, will not awake,' said on the last day of the rains: 'Depart, Vakkali!' Thus bidden, he could not stay; but thinking: 'What is life to me if I cannot see him?' climbed the Vulture's Peak to a place of precipices. The Master, knowing what Vakkali was about, thought: 'This bhikkhu, finding no comfort away from me, will destroy the conditions for winning the topmost fruits'; and revealing himself in a glory, spake thus:

*Now let the bhikkhu with exceeding joy
Delighting in the Buddha's Way and Lore,
Go up on to the holy, happy Path,
Where things component ne'er excite him more.²*

And stretching forth his hand, he said: 'COME, BHIKKHU!'

The Thera, filled with mighty joy and rapture at the thought: 'I see Him-of-the-Ten-Powers, and mine is it to hear Him say: Come!' came to himself and realized what he was doing. Rising in the air, he stood on the nearest point of the hill while he pondered on the Master's verse;

¹ Or 'causing to come' (*āgamento*). The *Anguttara Commentary* has the same expression, but then says [after no comment]: 'Discerning that it was now ripe, and he able to enlighten him, said . . .'

² *Dhammapada*, verse 881. The *adhigacche* is not present tense as in Fausböll's '*adit*,' nor future as in Max Müller's translation. The Master's body was eminently a type of 'things component' (*sankhārā*)

then arresting his rapture, he realized arahantship, together with grasp of the form and meaning of the Norm. This is what is recorded both in the Anguttara Commentary and in that on the Dhammapada.

But here they¹ say as follows: Admonished by the Master's 'What is to thee . . . ?' Vakkali dwelt on the Vulture's Peak, establishing himself in insight, and descending into the avenue thereof by the might of his faith. The Exalted One, knowing this, gave him a special exercise which he could not achieve, and from insufficient food he suffered from cramps. Knowing him thus suffering, the Exalted One went and asked him :

Thou who foredone with cramping pains,
Dwell'st in the jungle, in the woods,
Thy range confined, in hardship dire —
Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live ? (350)

And the Thera declaring his constant happiness through unworldly joys, replied :

With bliss and rapture's flooding wave
This mortal frame will I suffuse.
Though hard and rough what I endure,
Yet will I in the jungle dwell. (351)

Herein myself I'll exercise :—
The Starting-points of Mindfulness,
The Powers five, the Forces too,
The Factors of Enlightenment—
So will I in the jungle dwell. (352)

For I have seen [what friends have wrought]:²
Their striving roused, their straining mind,
Their staunch and ever onward stride,
In concord bound,—and having seen,
E'en in the jungle will I dwell, (353)

¹ Presumably the two sources of his own work. The Commentaries referred to are quoted accurately by him—to wit, the *Manoratha-pūraṇi* on *Ang.*, i. 24, § 2, and the *Dhammapada Commentary* on verse 881.

² " "Having seen" his co-religionists. By this he shows his good fortune in virtuous friends' (Commentary).

Remembering Him, the Very Wake,
 Supremely tamed, intent, serene,—
 With mind unwearied night and day,
 Thus will I in the jungle dwell. (354)

Thus saying, the Thera conjured up insight, and then it was that he won arahantship.

CCVI

Vijitasena.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a Kosalan elephant-trainers' family, he was named Vijitasena. His maternal uncles, Sena and Upasena,¹ had both entered the Order and become arahants, when Vijitasena, after learning the craft of his folk, saw the twin-miracle² of the Master, believed, and being naturally of a religious disposition, entered the Order under his uncles. Training by their instructions he rose into the avenue of insight, but his mind remaining discursive through various external objects, he admonished it:

I will restrain thee, heart, as elephants
 Are by the town-gate's sally-port³ kept back.
 I'll not abet thee in thy naughty ways,
 Thou net of wishes, thou of body born. (355)
 Not thine 'twill be, thus checked, to go at large.
 As elephant that wins not through the gate,
 Struggle thy best, thou witch,⁴ again, again;
 Thou shalt not roam, who art to sin so fain. (356)
 Even as one who firmly wields the hook
 Doth turn th' unbroken, untamed elephant
 Against its will, so will I turn thee back. (357)

¹ Not the brother of Sāriputta (CCXXXVIII.). Neither uncle is met with elsewhere.

² See XXXI.

³ = *Khuddaka-dvāraṇ*, or low, little door (Commentary).

⁴ = *Citta-Kālakarṇī*. I take *pasahaṇ* as *pasahanto*, 'using force'. The Br Cy. reads *pasauṇa*, paraphrasing by *saraṇa-saypassāsava-sena*. Cf. the S. MS. in Dr. Oldenberg's note, p. 40.

As the good driver, in horsebreaking skilled,
 Doth tame the mettle of the thoroughbred,
 So will I bring thee too beneath control.
 By virtue of the fivefold spiritual force. (358)
 Yea, by right heedfulness I'll bind thee fast,
 Myself restrained, so will I master thee.
 Curbed in the harness of right energy,
 Thou shalt not, O my heart, go far from me.¹ (359)

Thus restraining his thoughts did the Thera expand
 insight and win arahantship.

CCVII

Yasadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a clan of Malla rājas, and named Yasadatta, he was educated at Takkaṣilā.² Thereafter making a tour with the Wanderer Sabhiya,³ they came to Sāvattihī, where Sabhiya put questions to the Exalted One. Yasadatta listened to the answers, thinking as he took his seat, eager to criticize: 'I will show the defects in the Samana Gotama's discourse.' Now the Exalted One knew what was in his mind, and at the end of the 'Sabhiya Sutta' admonished him in these verses:

Who witless and with captious mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
 Far, far from the true Norm is he,
 As from the heaven is the earth.⁴ (360)

Who witless and with captious mind
 Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,
 From the true Norm he wanes away,
 As in the month's dark half the moon. (361)

¹ This is the second of the three poems conceived in this vein—namely, of a better self attempting to control the mutinies of older unregenerate impulses. Cf. LXXVII. and CCLXII.

² See *Bud. Ind.*, pp. 8, 28, 208.

³ See Sabhiya's psalm CLXXXVIII.; *Sutta-Nipāta*, iii. 6.

⁴ = verse 218, a line in Sabhiya's own psalm.

Who witless, etc. . . .

In the true Norm he withers up,

As fish where water runneth low. (362)

Who witless, etc. . . .

In the true Norm he doth not thrive,

As rotten seed in furrow sown. (363)

He who with glad contented mind

Doth hear the Conqueror's doctrine told,

He, casting out th' Intoxicants,

Doth realize the Influctuate,¹

Doth win the Peace ineffable,

And is perfected, sane, immune. (364)

Thus admonished by the Master, Yasadatta was filled with emotion, entered the Order, and, establishing insight, in due course won arahantship. And in confessing añña he uttered these very verses.

CCVIII

Soṇa-Kuṭikanna.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in the country of Avanti in the family of a very wealthy councillor, he was given the name of Soṇa. Wearing ear-jewelry worth a crore, he became known as Koṭi-, or Kuṭi-kanna (Crore-ears).² Grown up, he became a landowner, and when the venerable Kaccāna the Great³ stayed near his house, he ministered to his wants, learned the Norm, and finally growing disturbed, entered the Order through him. Collecting with

¹ *Akuppatā*, a very rare abstract noun from *akuppa*, undisturbed, unshaken. 'Is perfected' (*parinibbāti*, more usually the deponent form *parinibbāyati*) in the sense of rounded off, complete—i.e., attained life's climax and end. 'Sane,' etc. = *anāsavo*.

² Or is it possible he had the little point or faunlike peak (*kuṭi*) in the ears, like Julian Hawthorne's hero in 'Transformation'? See *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 82, n. 3.

³ See CCXXIX.

great difficulty a company of ten, he soon took leave of the Thera to go to Sāvattthī and salute the Master. Being admitted to pass the night in the Master's portion, and in the morning invited to recite, he was commended for the sixteen Aṭṭhakas. And when the verse—

'Seeing the evils of a worldly life,'

was finished, he developed insight and won arahantship.

And when he had obtained the Master's consent to the three matters which Kaccāna the Great had commissioned him to ask, he returned to his own dwelling-place, and told the Thera his instructor. This is recorded more fully in the Udāna and Anguttara Commentaries,¹ but there it is said that he attained arahantship while studying under his teacher.

Anon, while dwelling in the bliss of emancipation, he reviewed his achievement, and full of joy he breathed out these verses :

Not only did I ordination win,
Emancipated am I, sane, immune ;
Yea, him have I now seen, th' Exalted One,
And where he dwelt, there with him did I
lodge. (365)

Far through the night he stayed beneath the sky,
Then, versed in everything's abiding-place,
The Master in his chamber went to rest. (366)
His robe spread GOTAMA² and laid him down,
Like unto lion in a rocky cave,
For whom all fear and dread have passed
away.³ (367)

Thereafter in the presence of the Chief,
The Wake, did Soṇa, framing goodly speech,
Disciple of the Buddha, speak the Norm. (368)

¹ Udāna, v. 6; Manoratha-pūraṇi on Ang., i. 24, § 2; Vinaya Texts, ii. 32 ff.

² See XCI., n. 8, in which for ten, read nine, times.

³ Cf. introductory stanzas.

Well doth he know the factors of this life,
 Well doth he cultivate the Ariyan Way,
 So, having won to that most perfect Peace,
 Shall he complete becoming,¹ sane, immune. (369)

CCIX

Kosiya.

Reborn in this Buddha-age in a Magadhan brahmin's family, he was called by his family name : Kosiya. Come of age, he often went to hear the General of the Norm teaching,² and thereby, believing in the doctrine, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon reviewing his achievement, he extolled the venerableness and determining power for good of the wise in these verses :

He that is valiant and learn'd in the word of the
 masters,
 Therein can rest³ and therefor can cherish affection,
 Him ye may call devoted⁴ and wise : thus he
 may be
 One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
 doctrines.⁵ (370)

¹ Identical with the last line in verse 364, except that the verb is in the future, *parinibbissati*, making, by the way, a superfluous foot in the Pali metre.

² Sāriputta, a native of a village in Magadha.

³ *Vase* = *vaseyya* (Commentary).

⁴ *Bhattimā*, meaning either this, or one who can distinguish (*vide* Childers). The former meaning seems required by 'can cherish affection,' but I doubt if this (later very prevalent) meaning occurs elsewhere in the Pīṭakas. The Commentary's remark is: *So ti so garūṇaṃ vacanū dhiro, so yathānusiṭṭhaṃ paṭipattiyā, tattha, bhattimā ca nāma hoti.*

⁵ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, iv. 13, 11, where the line occurs. It does not seem to me to require the alteration suggested by Dr. Neumann. *Visesi assa : visesavā siyā.* Cy.

Him, whose steadfast philosophy hardship unparalleled
 Testing has no power to disturb or bewilder,
 Him ye may call strong-willed and wise: thus he
 may be
 One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
 doctrines. (371)

He who abideth as ocean unyielding, unfathomèd
 As to his insight in problems subtle and delicate,
 Him ye may call inexpugnable,¹ wise: thus he may be
 One that winneth, etc. . . . (372)

Erudite, one who beareth the Word in his memory,
 Practiser he of all doctrine, greater and lesser,
 Him ye may call all this and wise: thus he may be
 One that winneth, etc. . . . (373)

He who knoweth the meaning of that which is spoken,
 Knowing the meaning, shapeth his actions accord-
 ingly,
 'Meaning-within-side'² call him and wise: thus he
 may be
 One that winneth distinction in knowledge of
 doctrines. (374)

¹ Lit., 'who may not be removed.'

² *Atth-antaro*. We are reminded of M. Bergson's phrase, that 'by intuition we may see the becoming of things *from within*, transported by an effort of sympathy' (*Creative Evolution*, pp. 361 f., 384). The S'y., however, reads *atthandharo*. Cf. *dhammadharo* just above.

CANTO VI

PSALMS OF SIX VERSES

CCX

Kassapa of Uruvelā.

REBORN in the day of our Exalted One as the firstborn of three brothers in a brahmin family, they were all called by their family name Kassapa,¹ and they all learned the three Vedas. They had a following of five, three, and two hundred brahmin youths respectively. And finding no vital truth in their scriptures,² but only subjects of worldly interest,³ they left the world and became ascetics. And they became named after the places where they dwelt as rishis, the eldest with his company going to dwell at Uruvelā. Many days after this came the great renunciation of our Bodhisat, the starting of the Norm-Wheel, the arahantship of the five Theras, the conversion of the fifty-three associates headed by Yasa, the sending forth of the sixty arahants, 'Go ye, bhikkhus, and wander . . .,' the conversion of the thirty wealthy friends, and the coming of the Master to Uruvelā. When he had there wrought many wonders, beginning with the taming of the Nāga, Kassapa was convinced and entered the Order, his brothers following his example. To them and their

¹ See CCHL, CCIV. The incidents here outlined are told in *Vinaya Texts*, i. 119-139. This Kassapa is assigned chief rank among those bhikkhus who had great following (*Ang.*, i. 25).

² Lit., in their own book, *attano ganthe*.

³ *Dīṭṭhadhammikam eva atthaṃ*.

1,000 followers, the Master, seated on the crest of a rock on Gayā Head, uttered the discourse on Burning, establishing them all as arahants.

But Uruvelā-Kassapa reviewing his achievement, uttered lion-roar verses, attesting aññā :

Beholding all the wondrous works achieved
 By the high powers of glorious GOTAMA,
 At first, natheless, myself I humbled not,
 Being deceived by envy and by pride. (375)
 But He, Driver of men, who knew my thought
 And my intent, took me at length to task.
 Thereby anguish befell me, I was seized
 By thrill mysterious, hair-raising dread. (376)
 And then the gifts that erst accrued to me¹
 As famed ascetic poor and worthless seemed.
 All these I thereupon esteemed as nought,
 And in the Conqueror's Order was enrolled. (377)
 Once well content with sacrifice, 'bove all
 Concerned within these worlds once more to live
 Now have I set myself to extirpate
 All passion, all ill will, illusion too. (378)
 How erst I lived I know ; the heavenly eye,
 Purview celestial, have I clarified ;
 Power supernormal, reading others' thought,⁴
 Hearing ineffable, have I achieved. (379)
 And the great Quest for which I left the world,
 Forsaking home, a homeless life to lead,
 Even that quest, that high reward I've won,
 For every fetter now is broken down.² (380)

¹ *Sābha-sakkāra-sammiddhi*. Cy.

² He enumerates sixfold abhiññā, or modes of higher knowledge, only calling the last 'destroying the (ten) fetters,' instead of the four intoxicants, the more usual formula (*cf.* p. 32, n. 1). The last two lines are identical with (CXXVIII.) verse 136 ; the four in verse 379 occur, slightly different, in Uppalavaṇṇā's gāthās (*Sisters*, verse 227). Verse 380 = 136.

CCXI

Tekicchakāri

Reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a brahmin named Subuddha, he was safely brought into the world by the aid of physicians. Hence he was named Tekicchakāri, 'doctor-made.'¹ He grew up, learning the arts and learning of his clan. Now his father, by his wisdom and policy having incurred the jealousy and suspicion of the King of Benāres (*sic*), was by King Candagutta thrown into prison. Then Tekicchakāri, hearing of this, took fright and fled, taking sanctuary with the Thera dwelling at the Vihāra Hall, and telling him the cause of his trouble. The Thera ordained him and gave him an exercise, whereupon he became an open-air sedent bhikkhu,² heedless of heat or cold, and devoted especially to the cultivation of the Sublime Moods. Him Māra the Evil One saw, as one slipping out of his reach; and in the desire of unbalancing the Thera, he drew nigh in the guise of a field-herd, when the harvest was over, tempting him thus:

All harvested is now the rice, and threshed
The barley. Not a bite or sup I'll get!
What shall I do? (381)

Then the Thera, thinking, 'This fellow tells me of his state. But it is myself that I ought to admonish. I have no business to be discoursing,' thus exhorted himself to meditate on the Three Bases:

Think on the Buddha! infinite the thought!
Thou thus in gladsome piety, thy frame
With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
Upon the heights. (382)

¹ So in Oldenberg's MSS. and the Br. Cy. Only the S. Cy. has -kāni.

² Two forms of the *dhutangas*. See *Milinda*, ii., book vi.

Think on the Dhamma!¹ . . . (383)

Think on the Order! infinite the thought!¹
 Thou thus in gladsome piety, thy frame
 With rapture all suffused, shalt ever dwell
 Upon the heights. (384)

Then Māra again, wishing to dissuade him from solitude, pretended to be his well-wisher, saying:

Dost dwell beneath bare skies? Cold are these
 nights
 And wintry now. See that thou perish not
 With cold foredone. Get thee within thy lodge,
 Thy door well barred! (385)

Then the Thera, showing that in house-dwelling was a fetter, but that there he was at ease, said:

My heart transported shall reach out and touch
 The Four Immeasurable Moods;² thereby
 Ever shall I in blissful ease abide.
 Not mine foredone by cold to fail, who dwell
 Unmoved and calm. (386)

Thus saying, the Thera developed insight and realized arahantship.

And because this Thera lived in the time of King Binḍusāra, these verses must be understood as having been rehearsed as canonical at the Third Council.³

¹ Repeat as in verse 382.

² See his story and that of Subhūti. The Four Moods were Love, Pity, Sympathy for Happiness, and Equanimity. Line 1 is expanded from 'I shall touch,' an expression scarcely so significant to us as to a Buddhist or a Neo-Platonist. See my *Buddhism*, p. 218.

³ This interesting historical sidelight was noticed in Oldenberg's edition, p. 42 n., and in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. xvi. Binḍusāra, father of Asoka, was son of the usurper Chandragupta (Candagutta), who imprisoned the Thera's father.

CCXII

Mahā-nāga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāketa as the son of a brahmin named Madhu-Vāsetṭha, he was given the name of Mahā-nāga.¹ He saw the wonder wrought by Thera Gavampati,² while the Exalted One was staying in the Añjana Wood, and receiving faith, he entered the Order under the Thera, winning arahantship through his counsels.

Now while he abode in the bliss of emancipation, the Thera Mahā-nāga saw how the six bhikkhus³ habitually failed to show respect to their co-religionists, and he admonished them in verses which became his confession of aññā :

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth no reverence nor respect,
From the true Norm he wilts away,
Like fish where water runneth low. (387)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth no reverence nor respect,
In the true Norm he doth not thrive,
Like rotten seed in furrow sown. (388)

Who towards, etc.

Far from Nibbāna standeth he
Within the Norm-Lord's cult and school. (389)

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
Showeth due reverence and respect,
From the true Norm falls not away,
Like fish where many waters be. (390)

¹ Nothing else is known of this Brother. His namesake 'of the Black Creeper Pavilion' is a much later personage (*Jāt.*, iv. 490 ; vi. 30 [text] ; *JRAS*, 1901, p. 898). The name = great wondrous-being or spirit, applied equally to a serpent, an elephant, a thera, and to a class of fairies.

² See XXXVIII.

³ A notorious group of intriguers, whose doings severely tested the organization of the Sangha. See Ps. V. ; *Vinaya Texts*, i. 213 n.

Who towards his fellows in the Rule
 Showeth due reverence and respect,
 In the true Norm he thriveth well
 As seed benign in furrow sown. (391)
 Who towards his fellows in the Rule
 Showeth due reverence and respect,
 He to Nibbāna 's very near,
 Within the Norm-Lord's cult and school.¹ (392)

CCXIII

Kulla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī in the family of a landowner, and named Kulla, he was converted by faith, and was ordained by the Master. But he was often seized by fits of lustful passion. The Master, knowing his tendencies, gave him the exercise on foul things, and bade him often meditate in the charnel-field. And when even this sufficed not, he himself went with him and bade him mark the process of putrefaction and dissolution. Then, as Kulla stood with heart disinfatuated, the Exalted One sent out a glory, producing in him such mindfulness that he discerned the lesson, attained first jhāna, and on that basis developing insight, won arahantship.

Reviewing his experience, he breathed forth these verses, first speaking of himself (then repeating the Master's words and finally adding his own) :

Kulla had gone to where the dead lie still
 And there he saw a woman's body cast,
 Untended in the field, the food of worms.² (393)

¹ Who towards . . . showeth (not) is, literally rendered : For whom with respect to his co-religionists reverence does (not) exist, or is not found, or seen (*cf.* *Kathāvatthu Commentary* on *n'upalabbhati*, p. 8; *Dialogues*, il. 166, 'is [not] found'). The occasion of these verses as described by Dhammapāla above, let alone the religious consequences invoked, justify my differing here from Dr. Neumann's rendering. For the similes, *cf.* CCVII. Cult and school = *śāsana*.

² *cf.* OXCVIII.

'Behold the foul compound, Kulla, diseased,
 Impure,¹ dripping, exuding, pride of fools.'² (394)
 Grasping the mirror of the holy Norm,
 To win the vision by its lore revealed,
 I saw reflected there, without, within,
 The nature of this empty fleeting frame. (395)
 As is this body, so that one was once,
 And as that body, so will this one be.³
 And as it is beneath, so is't above,
 And as it is above, so is't beneath. (396)
 As in the daytime, so is it at night,
 And as't was once, so will't hereafter be,
 And as't will be, so was it in the past. (397)
 Not music's fivefold wedded sounds⁴ can yield
 Such charm as comes o'er him who with a
 heart
 Intent and calm rightly beholds the Norm! (398)

These verses were the Thera's confession of aññā.

CCXIV

Mālunkyā's Son.⁵

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of the
 King of Kosala's valuer,⁶ his mother was named Mālunkyā,
 and he became known by her name. When he was come
 of age his naturally religious disposition prevailed, and he
 left the world as a Wandering ascetic. Then, on hearing
 the Master teach, he entered the Order, and in due course
 won sixfold abhiññā. Visiting his home out of compassion

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, xix.; *Dhammapada Commy.*, iii., p. 118 f., on verse 150.

² Complacent in calling it 'I,' 'mine' (Commentary).

³ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 202.

⁴ Cf. p. 175, n. 1; and verse 1071.

⁵ A second poem of this Thera is given as CCLII. The Thera is met with in *Saṃy.*, iv. 72 (a Sutta identical with the latter poem), and presumably in *Ang.*, ii. 248, and *Majjh.*, i., Suttas 68, 64.

⁶ *Agghāpanika*. Cf. XX.: *agghāpanī*; *Jāt.*, i., No. 5.

for his kinsfolk, these entertained him with great display of hospitality, seeking to allure him back, and saying: 'With this wealth that belongs to you, you could support a family and do good works.'

But the Thera, unfolding his disposition, said :

Is ¹ there a man who careless, heedless dwells,
 Craving in him will like a creeper grow.
 He hurries hankering from birth to birth,²
 In quest of fruit like ape in forest tree. (399)
 Whom she doth overcome, — the shameful
 jade,
 Craving, the poisoner of all mankind,—³
 Grow for him griefs as rank as jungle-grass. (400)
 But he who doth her down,—the shameful
 jade,
 Hard to outwit,—from him griefs fall away
 As from the lotus glides the drop of dew. (401)
 This word to you, as many as are here⁴
 Together come : May all success be yours !
 Dig up the root of craving, as ye were
 Bent on the quest of sweet usira root.
 Let it not be with you that, ye the reed,
 Māra the stream, he break you o'er and o'er ! (402)
 Bring ye the Buddha-Word to pass ; let not
 This moment of the ages pass you by !
 That moment lost, men mourn in misery.⁵ (403)

¹ *Dhammapada*, pp. 384-387.

² *Hurāhuray*, in the Commentary, seems to mean both 'hankeringly' and 'from birth to birth,' the latter with the former implied. See *JPTS*, 1909, p. 168.

³ To connect *visatti-ka* with *visay* may not be correct etymologically. *Visatti* may mean very powerful, or withdrawing power, but as an agency we should almost expect *vesattikā*. But both Buddhaghosa (*Atthasālinī*, p. 264) and Dhammapāla connect the word with poison. The latter, however, adds *āsattatā*. Cf. *Dhammapada Commentary* (Fausböll), p. 409.

⁴ Cf. CLXXXII.

⁵ Cf. p. 162, n. 3 ; *S.-Nipāta*, verse 838 = *Dhammapada*, verse 815.

As dust [mixed and defiled], is carelessness ;
 And dust-defilement comes through carelessness.
 By earnestness and by the Lore ye hear,
 Let each man from his heart draw out the
 spear.¹ (404)

CCXV

Sappadāsa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Kapilavatthu as the son of the King² Sudhodana's chaplain, he was named Sappadāsa. He received faith on the occasion of the Master's visit to his own people,³ and entered the Order. Overmastered by corrupt habits of mind and character (the *kilesa's*), he never got concentration and singleness of mind. This finally distressed him so much that he was about to commit suicide, when, the inward vision suddenly expanding, he attained arahantship. Confessing aññā he said :

Full five and twenty years have passed since I
 Had left the world, and in the Order lived,
 And yet not for one fingersnap of time
 Had I found peace [and sanity⁴] of mind. (405)
 Intent and single vision ne'er I won,
 Distraught and harassed by desires of sense ;
 In tears, wringing my hands, I left the lodge.⁵ (406)
 Nay now I'll take a knife or else—For what
 Is life to me? And how can such as I,
 Who by my life the training have denied,
 Do better than set term to it and die? (407)
 So then I came and with a razor sat me down
 Upon my couch. And now the blade was drawn
 Across my throat to cut the artery. . . . (408)

¹ *Sisters*, verse 181. Commentary, *hadayanissitay*.

² Distinguished by the Commentary as mahārāja.

³ See CXXXIX. ⁴ *Cetaso samādhīnaṃ*. Comy.

⁵ Comy. : *anupanikkhamiṃ, bahi nikkhanto*.

When lo! in me arose the deeper thought :
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest ;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed, (409)
 And so my heart was set at liberty !
 O see the seemly order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do is done.¹ (410)

CCXVI

Kātiyāna.

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of a brahmin of the Kosiya family,² but was named Kātiyāna after the family of his mother. Seeing his friend Sāmaññaṅkāni³ become a Thera, he, too, entered the Order. While at his studies he determined to discipline himself at night as to sleep. While pacing on the terrace he dozed, overcome by sleepiness, and fell right there to the ground. The Master, seeing what had happened, went himself, and standing above him, called him 'Kātiyāna !' He thereat rose up, saluted, and stood much agitated. Then the Master taught him the Norm thus :

Rise up, rouse thee, Kātiyāna, seat thee crosslegged.⁴
 Be not filled with drowsiness. Watch and keep vigil.
 Child of heedless race, let not the King of Mortals
 By a simple trick o'ercome thee self-indulgent. (411)
 E'en as billow sweeping o'er the mighty ocean
 So may round of birth and age o'erwhelm and drown
 thee.

See that *thou* dost make thyself an isle of safety,⁵
 For nought else is there may serve thee as a
 refuge. (412)

¹ = verses 289 f. Cf. CXV., CCV.

² Cf. CCIX.

³ See XXXV.

⁴ So the Commentary as the prescribed posture for meditation.

⁵ Cf. *Sutta-Nipāta*, 501.

Lo! for thee the Master hath prepared this Right
Way,

Past all bonds and past all fear of birth and dying.

Be thou diligent when night is young, and after;

Strive with all thy might, and strenuous make thy
study. (413)

Loose all earlier ties; live as befits a brother,

Robed in yellow cloak, by razor shaved, and almsfed.

Be not fain for pastimes, nor to lengthened slumbers¹

Be addicted. Contemplate, O Kātiyāna! (414)

Concentrate, conquer, O Kātiyāna! Make thee

Adept in the path to sure salvation leading.

Hast thou won the ultimate purification,

Thou shalt reach the Going-out, as flame in water. (415)

Light of feeble ray is as a wind-torn creeper.

So do thou, clansman of Indra,² clutching nothing,

Shake off Māra. Cleans'd of passion for sensations,

Wait thine hour, e'en here in holy coolness dwelling. (416)

Thus aided by the Master's homily to win the Nibbāna wherein is no residual base of rebirth, the Thera developed insight and attained arahantship. Thereafter he uttered the verses as taught by the Master in confessing aññā.

CCXVII

Migajāla.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthi as a son of the great lay-lady Visākhā,³ he would often go to the Vihāra

¹ The Cy. (Br.) supplies the other *ca* after *nidday*.

² Kosiya-gotta. Kosiya is one of the god Indra's names. The application of the simile of the light (lamp) is not, I venture to think, that Māra's death-torch was to be extinguished by Kosiya (*cf.* Neumann), but that his own rebirth-'fire,' grown 'cool' and low, was in dying out to checkmate Māra's designs for his rebirth.

³ See *Sisters*, p. 16 n.

to hear the Norm. Finally he entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Confessing aññā he said :

Well taught it is by Him who seeth all—
 The Buddha, offspring of the sun's high race ¹—
 Through it all bonds are bygone things, through it
 All constant rolling on ² is razed away ; (417)
 It leadeth on and out, ³ it beareth o'er,
 Through it the root of craving withers up ;
 Cutting the poison-root, our tragic doom,
 It bringeth us to evil's utter end ; ⁴ (418)
 By severing the root of ignorance,
 It breaks in pieces Kamma's living car ; ⁵
 It hurls the bolt of insight on the goods
 That dower consciousnesses at rebirth ; ⁶ (419)
 The truth 'neath all our sentience laying
 bare,
 And from all fevered grasping setting free,
 Revealer 'tis to us, by knowledge given,
 Of rebirth as a fiery pit of coals ; (420)
 Of mighty properties, far-reaching, deep,
 Averter of decay and death to come :—
 Such is the ARIYAN, THE EIGHTFOLD PATH,
 Assuager of all ill, auspicious, blest. ⁸ (421)
 Action it knoweth,—what the act doth mean,—
 And fruit of action as the fruit indeed.

¹ See XXVI., CXXXIX.

² *Sabbavaṭṭavanāsaṇo*, 'because it destroys the rolling on of the results of corrupt karma.' Cy.

³ *Niyyāniko*. Cf. *Bud. Psy.*, p. 82, n. 2.

⁴ *Nibbuti* = *nibbāna*—i.e., of all *kamma* and *kilesa*. Cy.

⁵ *Kammayanta* : *attabhūvayanta*. Cy.

⁶ *Viññāṇānaṃ pariggahe* : *kāma-bhavadisu yathūsakakammunā viññāṇagahaṇe upatthite*. Cy. Cf. *Dialogues*, i. 818, n. 1.

⁷ Cf. *Majjhima*, i. 74. Here rebirth in purgatory is specified ; the simile is elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 365) applied to sensuous desires, by which rebirth is incurred.

⁸ Two words for *śivo* (cf. Śiva, the later popular Hindu deity).

Showing a vision by the light of truth
 Of things as come to be by way of cause.
 Yea, to the mighty Haven¹ doth it wend ;
 High peace it brings and bliss lies at the end.² (422)

Thus the Thera, showing in manifold ways the Ariyan Norm, declared how he himself had followed it as confession of aññā.

CCXVIII

Jenta.

(The Chaplain's Son.)³

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as the son of the King of Kosala's chaplain, he was named Jenta. When grown up he became intoxicated with his advantages of birth, wealth, and position, despising where he should have honoured, and stiff with pride. One day he approached the Master, who was teaching in the midst of a great company, and he thought : ' If the Samana Gotama will first address me, I will also speak ; I will not voluntarily address him.' Thus the Exalted One not addressing him, and he through pride not speaking either, he showed the motive for his coming as he stood there. Him the Exalted One then addressed in a verse :

*To dwell on proud, vain fancies is not well.
 Cultivate, brahmin, that which profiteth.
 The good which thou dost seek in coming here—
 That, and that only shouldst thou dwell upon.*

¹ *Khema* (ver. 82, 227, 810). ' Haven ' implies here its primary meaning of ' safe place,' or ' hold,' and not anything *marine* (cf. verse 415).

² The whole of this most eloquent gāthā is a rosary of adjectival terms and phrases in praise of the Dhamma, a connexion confirmed by the Commentary. This is rightly indicated in the Oldenberg text by the absence of stops. By Dr. Neumann the epithets are twisted to apply to the Buddha—twisted from the instrumental, in which case they would have stood, to the nominative. The English rendering mocks the glowing poetry of the original.

³ To distinguish him from the Jenta of CXI.

Jenta thinking, 'He knows my thoughts!' was greatly drawn to him, and fell at his feet, paying the highest degree of homage. And he asked the Master, saying :

For whom is one to cultivate no pride ?

Whom should one honour ? Whom should one revere ?

To whom if one show reverence is it well ?

To him the Exalted One :

For mother and for father too, likewise

For eldest brother, for the teacher, for

The brahmin and for them of yellow robe :

For these is one to cultivate no pride,

These should one honour, these should one revere,

To these if one show reverence it is well.

The arahants cool, adept, sane, immune,

For whom pride perished as they crossed the goal,¹

To them beyond all others homage pay.

Jenta by that teaching became a Stream-winner, entered the Order, and in due course won arahantship. Thereupon in celebrating his achievement he thus declared aññā : ⁴

Infatuated with my birth, my wealth

And influence, with the beauty of my form

Intoxicated, thus I led my life. (423)

O'ermuch I fancied none was like to me.

A poor young fool by overweening spoilt,

Stubborn with pride, posing and insolent. (424)

Mother and father, ay, and others too

Claiming respect and honour, never one

Did I salute, discourteous, stiff with pride. (425)

¹ *Māna* is one of the last 'fetters' to be broken in the fourth or highest path leading to arahantship. As Stream-winner he enters the first path. Cf. also *Bud. Psy.*, p. 298, n. 8.

Then saw I Him the Guide, Leader Supreme,
 The peerless Chief 'mong drivers of mankind,
 In glory shining like the sun, with all
 The company of brethren in his train. (426)
 Casting away conceit and wanton pride,
 A pious gladness filling all my heart,
 Lowly I rendered homage with the head
 To Him among all creatures Best and Chief. (427)
 Well extirpated now and put away
 Is both o'erweening and hypocrisy;
 The *what* and *that* 'I am' is snapt in twain,
 Yea, every form of self-conceit is slain.¹ (428)

CCXIX

Sumana.

Reborn in this Buddha-age he took birth in the family of a certain lay-disciple who had become the lay-attendant of the venerable Thera Anuruddha.² Now that layman's children till then had died young. And the father said: 'If yet one more son is born to me, I will have him ordained by the Thera. After ten months a healthy boy was born to him, and accordingly, when the child was seven years old, he was ordained. And from the ripeness of his insight, it was not long before he acquired sixfold abhiññā, waiting the while upon the Thera. Taking a jar to fetch him water, Sumana through iddhi-power came to the Anotatta Lake.³ And a wicked serpent-king, coiled about the lake, reared its great hood aloft and would not suffer him to get water. Then Sumana took the shape of a garuda-bird⁴ and

¹ Nine forms, says the Commentary. These are enumerated in the *Vibhanga*, p. 889 f. In Buddhism *māna* comprises all intrusions of the ego. This as entity was a myth, and was not to be set in rivalry over against the myth in one's neighbour.

² See CCLVI.

³ One of seven mythical lakes in the Himālaya regions (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 124; *Milinda*, ii. 187).

⁴ The 'roc'-bird of India.

overcame the serpent, and flew back with the water to the Thera. And the Master, seated in Jeta Grove, saw him as he went, and called Sāriputta to see, praising him in the four verses below.

Now Sumana, in testifying to aññā, added those verses to his own as follows :

When newly made a brother seven years old,
By supernormal power I overcame
The wondrous potency of the serpent king, (429)
Whenas I water for my teacher's use
From the great lake of Anotatta fetched.
Me coming thus the Master saw and spake : (430)

See, Sāriputta, how the little lad
Holding his jar of water comes along,
Rapt all his being, utterly intent. (431)
Noble his carriage on his gracious quest,
And well-matured in supernormal power,
This novice of our Anuruddha's band. (432)
By trainer of high breeding highly bred,
By the proficient made thoroughly expert,
By perfect competence made competent,
By Anuruddha taught and disciplined : (433)
He having won the highest peace and good
And realized the in fluctuate, even he—
This novice Sumana—[would hide his power]
And thus : Let no man know me ! doth
desire.¹ (434)

¹ Sumana might well be the Sumana of CCI. if Anuruddha were the uncle, and it may be another case of a bifurcate legend. The name, however, is not unusual. This Sumana is possibly the venerable Thera 'from the West,' who, with three others and four from the East, presided at the Council of Vesālī a century after the Buddha's death (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. 407). There was anyway a tradition that, of these eight Theras two—Sumana and Vāsabhaḡāmi—were pupils of Anuruddha, and 'had seen the Tathāgata' (*Dīpavaṅsa*, iv. 48 ; v. 24).

CCXX

Nhātaka-muni.¹

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha in a brahmin clan, and well educated in Vedic lore, he became known by the mark and order of a graduate as Nhātaka, the bath-graduate. Becoming an ascetic, he dwelt in a forest glade three leagues from Rājagaha, living on wild rice and worshipping fire.

Now the Master, seeing the conditions of arahantship shining within his heart like a lamp in a jar, came to his hermitage. He, filled with pleasure thereat, placed before him food prepared in his own way. The Exalted One ate it; and so three days went by. On the fourth day the Exalted One said: 'You who are of such extreme delicacy, how can you support life on this food?' And thus commenting on saintly content, he taught him the Norm. And the ascetic thereupon from Stream-winner became arahant. The Exalted One confirmed him therein and went. But he, continuing to dwell there, fell ill of cramp. The Master went, and with kindness asked after his health:

Thou who foredone with cramping pains
Dwell'st in the jungle, in the woods,
Thy range confined, in hardship dire,
Tell me, bhikkhu, how wilt thou live? (435)

Then the Thera:

With bliss and rapture's flooding wave
This mortal frame is all suffused.
Though hard and rough what I endure,
Yet will I in the jungle dwell.² (436)

¹ There is a close connexion between the brahmin graduate's and our knight's sacramental bath. A Nhātaka might not unfairly be called a 'C.B.,' Companion of the Bath.

² Cf. Vakkali, CCV.

Wisdom's seven branches practising,
 The Powers five, the Forces too,¹
 Rapt to ethereal heights of thought,
 So will I in the jungle dwell. (437)
 From all corrupting thoughts set free,
 With heart all pure and undefiled,
 Often to contemplation given,
 So will I in the jungle dwell. (438)
 And all the intoxicants that once,
 Within, without, beset my life,
 Hewn and cast out are one and all,
 Never to rise for me again. (439)
 The factors five are understood,²
 Persisting yet with severed root.
 The end of sorrow now is won,
 And all rebirth for me is done. (440)

CCXXI

Brahmadatta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattthī as a son of the King of Kosala, and named Brahmadatta, he witnessed the majesty of the Buddha at the Jeta Grove inauguration, entered the Order because he believed, and in due course acquired sixfold abhiññā, together with thorough grasp of the letter and meaning of the Norm.

One day as he went round for alms, a brahmin abused him. The Thera heard in silence and went on with his business. The brahmin again reviled him, and people commented on the Thera's silence. Whereupon Brahmadatta taught them, saying :

Whence rises wrath for him who void of wrath
 Holds on 'the even tenor of his way,'
 Self-tamed, serene, by highest insight free? (441)
 Worse of the two is he who, when reviled,

¹ Cf. *Compendium*, pp. 180, f, d, e.

² = CXX.

Reviles again. Who doth not, when reviled,
 Revile again, a twofold victory wins.¹ (442)
 Both of the other and himself he seeks
 The good ; for he the other's angry mood
 Doth understand and soothe [checking him-
 self]. (443)

Him who of both is the physician, since
 Himself he healeth and the other too,
 Folk deem a fool, they knowing not the Norm. (444)

Then the reviling brahmin, hearing these words, was
 both distressed and glad of heart, and besought the Thera's
 forgiveness. Yea, he took Orders under him, and was
 taught the exercise of meditating on love towards others,
 the Thera thus arming him against obsession by anger :

If anger rise in thee, then think upon
 The Figure of the Saw ; and if arise
 Craving t' indulge thyself, remember thou
 The Parable of how they ate the Child. (445)
 If, lusting for new lives in heaven and earth,
 Thy heart run wild, O check and curb it swift
 By mindfulness, as 'twere the beast men find
 In young corn grazing trespasser, and bind.² (446)

CCXXII

Sirimaṇḍa.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Sunsumāragira in a
 brahmin family, he entered the Order through faith got on
 hearing the Master teaching in the Bhesakalā Wood.³ One
 feast-day, while he was seated where the Pātimokkha was

¹ *Lit.*, reviles back the reviler. Cf. I. *Pet.* ii. 28 ; *Dhammapada*, verse 188.

² These three parables occur in three discourses ascribed to the Buddha : *Majjh.*, i. 129 ; *Saṃyutta*, ii. 98 ; iv. 196. A similar reference to similes from the Suttas is made by Sumedhā (*Sisters*, p. 178).

³ Cf. XVIII.

to be recited at the end of the recitation of the introduction¹ . . . 'for [a fault] when declared shall be light to him,' he pondered on the advantage gained by the confession of faults concealed, and thereupon exclaimed with eager interest and gladness : ' Oh, how utterly pure is the rule of the Master ! ' And so expanding insight he attained arahantship. Reviewing the course thereto with a glad heart, he admonished the brethren :

Heavily falls the rain of guilt on fault
 Concealed ; less heavy where the fault lies bare.² (447)
 By death the world is held enslaved ; by age
 And by decay 'tis shrouded and beset,
 Pierced by the dart of craving evermore,
 By itch of pestering desires assailed. (448)
 By death the world is held enslaved ; by age
 And by decay escorted, guarded sure,³
 Without a refuge, everlastingly
 Struck as by thief with bludgeon and with
 sword.⁴ (449)

Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh :—
 Death and disease, decay, dread trinity,
 Whom to confront no strength sufficeth, yea,
 No swiftness aught avails to flee away. (450)
 Make thou the day not futile, not in vain,
 Whether it be by little or by much.
 For every day and night⁵ that thou dost waste,
 By so much less thy life remains to live. (451)
 Whether thou walk or stand or sit or lie,
 For thee the final day of life draws nigh ;
 No time hast thou to dally heedlessly.⁶ (452)

¹ The Nidāna. See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 1 f.

² This verse is, in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 305, ascribed to the Buddha. 'Guilt,' 'fault' are glosses, the context there and the Commentary here justifying the application of the simile.

³ Occurs in *Saṃy.* i. 40.

⁴ Reading *satthadando*.

⁵ Lit., 'night' only. The Indian reckoned as much by 'nights' as by 'days.'

⁶ Cf. *Sisters*, verse 95.

CCXXIII

Sabbakāma.

Reborn in this Buddha-age, after the Exalted One had passed away, at Vesālī in a noble clan, and named Sabbakāma, he, when he was come of age, gave gifts and possessions to his kinsfolk, and following his religious inclination left the world, taking orders under the Treasurer of the Norm.¹ In course of his studies he came back to Vesālī with his instructor and visited his family. And his former wife, afflicted, lean, in sorry array and tears, greeted him and stood by. Seeing her thus, affection led by pity arose in him, and losing the deeper view in the present object, carnal feeling came over him. Then like a high-bred horse at the touch of the whip, anguish arose, and he departed to the charnel field to learn the lesson of Foul Things. Thereby jhāna supervening, he expanded insight and won arahantship. Now his father-in-law brought his daughter decked out once more in finery to the Vihāra, with a great retinue, seeking to make him secede, but the Thera declared to them how he had ejected all such desires as follows :

This twaybased thing, impure, malodorous,
 Full of foul matter, ebbing thus and thus,
 Is cherished as the chief of all our care.² (453)
 As hidden deer by craft, as fish by hook,
 As ape by pitch, so is the world ensnared. (454)
 Sights, sounds and tastes, odours and things to
 touch,
 That please and charm, the fivefold way of
 sense :
 All these are shown combined in woman's
 shape. (455)

¹ Ananda. Sabbakāma is probably the Sabbakāmi of *Vin. Texts*, iii. 404.

² = *Sutta-Nipūta*, i. 11, 18. My third line expands the word *paṭihirati* (for °*hiriyati*).

The worldlings, who with heart inflamed pursue
 And woo her, swell the dreadful field of death ¹
 And make accumulation of rebirth. (456)
 But he who shuns it all, as with the foot
 The serpent's head is shunned, he, vigilant,
 Doth circumvent this poisoner of the world.² (457)
 And I who evil saw in sense-desires
 And in renunciation safety, lo !
 Detached from all that worldly aims commend,
 Of all th' intoxicants have made an end.³ (458)

¹ *Cf. Sisters*, verse 502 ; *Udāna*, vi. 8 ; *Vin. Texts*, iii. 390.

² *Craving (Cy.)*. *Cf. verses 400, 401.*

³ *Cf. verse 122.*

CANTO VII

PSALMS OF SEVEN VERSES

CCXXIV

Sundara-Samudda.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a very wealthy councillor, he was named Samudda. And because of his beauty he became known as Sundara-Samudda.¹ In the prime of his youth he saw the majesty of the Buddha at the festival of his coming to Rājagaha, and through faith and his native inclination he left the world for the Order. Entrusted with a message he went from Rājagaha to Sāvattihī and there stayed with a virtuous friend, learning how to practise himself in insight. Now his mother at Rājagaha, seeing other councillors' sons and their wives dressed in their best enjoying themselves at a festival, thought of her son and wept. And a certain courtesan to comfort her offered to go and entice him back. The mother promised, if she would do so, and he were to marry her, to make her mistress of the family, and gave her many gifts. Well attended, she went to Sāvattihī, and stopping at a house where the Thera came day after day on his alms round, she caused him to be carefully attended to, showing herself decked and adorned and wearing golden slippers. And one day, slipping these off at the house door,

¹ Sundārā-Samud'da = beautiful sea. Samudda does not play a part elsewhere in the Canon, but his soubriquet only appears as the name of a bhikkhu of Rājagaha cited in the *Vinaya*, or type of bhikkhu who underwent similar St. Anthony's ordeals (*Vinaya*, iii. 86).

she saluted him with clasped hands as he passed and invited him in with seductive air. Then the Thera, a worldly thought fluttering, resolved then and there to make a supreme effort, and so standing, conjured up meditation and acquired sixfold abhiññā. Concerning this it is said :

Adorned and clad to make a gallant show,
Crowned with a wreath and decked with many
gems,

Her feet made red with lac, with slippers dight,
A woman of the town accosted me, (459)
Doffing her slippers, greeting hands-to-head,
With soft, sweet cones and opening compli-
ment: (460)

'So young, so fair, and hast thou left the
world—

Stay here within *my* Rule and Ordinance.
Take thou thy fill of human pleasures. See,
'Tis I will give thee all the means thereto.
Nay, 'tis the truth that I am telling thee.
Or if thou doubt, I'll bring thee fire and
swear.¹ (461)

When thou and I are old, we both of us
Will take our staff to lean upon, and so
We both will leave the world and win both
ways.'² (462)

Seeing that public woman making plea,
And proffering obeisance gaily decked
In brave array like snare of Mara laid, (463)

¹ So the Commentary : ' If you do not believe me, I, having fetched fire, will make the fire-motived oath.' Cf. *Laws of Manu*, viii. 114, 115 (*SBE*, xxv.), referring to an ordeal by fire for testing veracity. Or only an invocation of fire as witness to the oath may be implied. Such a reading is less forced than Dr. Neumann's, who would see in 'truth' and 'fire' the woman's travesty of religious terms to suit her own 'Rule' (*sāsana*).

² See *Laws of Manu*, vi., §§ 2, 8, on husband and wife becoming hermits together when both were old.

Thereat arose in me the deeper view :
 Attention to the fact and to the cause.
 The misery of it all was manifest ;
 Distaste, indifference the mind possessed ; (464)
 And so my heart was set at liberty.
 O see the seemly Order of the Norm !
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
 And all the Buddha bids us do-is done. (465)

CCXXV

Lakuṇṭaka-Bhaddiya.

Reborn in the time of our Master at Sāvattthī in a wealthy family, he was named Bhaddiya, but from his extreme shortness, he was known as Lakuṇṭaka (Dwarf)-Bhaddiya. Hearing the Master preach, he entered the Order, and becoming learned and eloquent, he taught others their work with a sweet voice. Now on a festival-day, a certain woman of the town, driving with a brahmin in a chariot, saw the Thera and laughed, showing her teeth.¹ The Thera, taking that row of teeth as an object-sign, evoked jhāna, and on that basis established insight and became a Non-Returner.² And after practising mindfulness regarding the body,³ admonished by the Captain of the Norm,⁴ he was established in arahantship. Later he thus confessed aññā :

Beyond the gardens of Ambāṭaka,⁵
 In woodland wild, craving and craving's root
 Withdrawn, and rapt in deepest reverie,
 There happy sits fortunate Bhaddiya. (466)

¹ Someone's teeth proved equally efficacious for Thera Mahā Tissa of Ceylon. See *Atthasālinī*, p. 200; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 70 n.

² The grade of salvation next below the arahant, in which final death is to come after one more life in one of the remoter heavens.

³ Cf. *Dialogues*, ii. 828 f.

⁴ Sāriputta.

⁵ This park is probably that at Macchikasaṇḍa, given by Citta to the Order (*Dhammapada Commentary*, ii. 74).

And some are charmed by cymbals,¹ lutes and drums,

And I in leafy shadow of my trees
Do dwell entranced by the Buddha's Rule. (467)

Let but the Buddha grant one boon to me,
And if that boon were mine, I'd choose for all
Perpetual study in control of self. (468)

They who decry me for my shape, and they
Who listen spell-bound to my voice, such folk
In toils of lust and impulse know me not. (469)

The fool hemmed in on every side knows not
The inner life, nor sees the things without,
And by a voice forsooth is led away. (470)

And if the inner life he knoweth not,
Yet can discern the things that are without,
Watching alone the outer fruits that come,
He also by a voice is led away. (471)

He, who both understands the inner life,
And doth discern the things that are without,
Clear-visioned, by no voice is led away.² (472)

CCXXVI

B h a d d a .

He was reborn in this Buddha-age at Sāvattihī in a Councillor's family, as the child of hitherto childless parents, to

¹ *Mutingehi* means a variety of drum. Our drum nomenclature is insufficient for the number of Indian species of this instrument. The sweet voice probably went with a musical ear, and this is why he ranks music as second only to his own supreme source of delight.

² Bhaddiya (the name means Felix, Fortunatus; his soubriquet distinguishes him from the other Bhaddiya, cf. CCLIV.) is in *Ang.*, i. 25, ranked as the sweetest voiced among all the brethren. This distinction is said to have been the result of an aspiration made in past ages, before Padumuttara Buddha. The evolutionary momentum of this caused him rebirth, under Vipassī Buddha, as a 'variegated-feathered cuckoo' (*citta-pattakokila*), a sweet warbler in India. The Cy. does not allude to the realization of his wish, but the poem betrays it. 'Study in control of self': *kūyagatisatiṇ*.

whom, after prayers to gods and the like, none had been born. They had gone to the Master saying, 'If, your reverence, we shall get a child we will offer him to you as your servant.' They named him Bhadda (Faustus), and when he was seven years old, they dressed him in his best, and led him to the Master, saying, 'This, your reverence, is the child we got after asking you; we deliver him to you.' The Master bade Ānanda ordain him, and withdrew to the Fragrant Chamber. And Ānanda instructed him, and so ripe was in him the efficient cause that, while studying, even as the sun rose, he conjured up contemplation, and acquired sixfold abhiññā.

Now the Exalted One knew what had happened, and called, 'COME, BHADDA!' So he went, saluting the Master with clasped hands. This was his ordination. And this Buddha-ordination,¹ the Thera, beginning with his birth, magnified when thus confessing aññā :

An only child was I, to mother dear
And to my father dear. By many a rite
And much observance was I gotten, ay,
And many prayers. To do me kindness
they, (473)

My good desiring, and my happiness,
Conducted me—father and mother too—
Into the presence of the Buddha blest. (474)

'Hardly hath he been gotten, this our child,
And he is delicate and softly reared.
Him do we give, O Lord, to thee, that he
May wait as servant on the Conqueror.' (475)

The Master took me unto Him and thus
To Ānanda did say: 'Quickly admit
This child, for he a thoroughbred shall be.' (476)

And then, thus sanctioning my coming forth,
The Conqueror withdrew to spend the night.
And as the sun rose up out of the dawn
Lo! then my heart was set at liberty. (477)

¹ Cf. CXVII.; *Sisters*, verse 109, n. 4.

Then to complete his work the Master, roused
 From quietude: 'COME, BHADDA!' called to me;
 Thereby to me was ordination given. (478)
 Seven were my years when I was thus ordained.
 The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own.
 Hail to the seemly order of the Norm! (479)

CCXXVII

Sopāka.

Reborn in this Buddha-age to a pariah's wife, he was called, according to his birth, Sopāka (pariah). Some say he was born in a trader's family. This is contradicted by the Apadāna text (pāliya) :

*When to my last birth I had won,
 Into Sopāka-womb I came.*

Four months after birth he lost his father, and was maintained by his uncle. The latter, when Sopāka was seven years old, was bidden by his own ill-tempered son to kill the child. So he took him to the charnel-field, bound his hands, and tied him by the neck to a corpse, thinking, 'Let the jackals and others devour him,' for he was not able himself to kill the child, who had come to his last rebirth. The jackals and other creatures came, and the child at midnight cried :

*O what the fate in store for me,
 Or who to the orphan lone is kin?
 In midst of dreadful deathfield bound,
 Whom shall I find to be my friend ?¹*

The Master, at that hour surveying what fellow-men were redeemable,² saw the conditions of arahantship shining

¹ *Dāyako*, benefactor.

² *Veneyya*—lit., capable of being led.

within the child's heart, and drew his attention by emitting a glory, saying :

*Come then, Sopāka, fear thou not ;
Behold the Man-who-thus-hath-come !
I, even I, will bear thee o'er,
As moon comes safe from Rahu's jaws.¹*

The boy by the Buddha's power broke his bonds, and at the end of the verse stood, a Stream-winner, before the Fragrant Chamber.² Now his mother sought him, and the uncle telling her nothing, she went to the Exalted One, thinking 'the Buddhas know all, past, future, and present.' The Master, as she came, hid the boy by *iddhi*, and to her saying, 'Lord, I cannot find my son, nevertheless the Exalted One knows what he is doing?' he replied :

*Sons are no shelter nor father, nor any kinsfolk.
For one o'erta'en by death, bloodbond is no
refuge, . . .³*

so teaching her the Norm. She, hearing, became a Stream-winner, but the boy an arahant. Then the Exalted One withdrew *iddhi*, and she, overjoyed, beheld her son. Hearing he was arahant, she suffered him to leave the world, and went her way.⁴

Now he came and saluted the Master, as he was walking in the shade of the Fragrant Chamber, and followed him. And the Exalted One, desiring to grant him ordination, asked him the ten questions beginning: 'What is the one?'⁵ He, grasping the Master's intention, supplied the answers, 'All beings are sustained by food,' etc., by his omniscience. Whence the name of the 'Boy-Questions' arose. And the Master, satisfied in mind by his replies, ordained him. All this the Thera set forth in confessing aññā thus :

¹ Cf. *Sisters*, Ps. ii.

² The Buddha's apartments at the Jeta-Vihāra.

³ *Dhammapada*, verses 288, 289; to Paṭācārā, cf. *Sisters*, p. 71.

⁴ Cf. the similar episode in Yasa's legend (CXVII.).

⁵ *Khuddaka pāṭha*. Cf. *Sisters*, p. 66.

In the shade upon the terrace walking, lo! the Chief
of men.

Thither went I, in His presence worshipping the Man
of men. (480)

Draped my robe was on one shoulder, forth my
clasped hands were stretched,

In the footsteps of the highest of all beings so I
walked. (481)

Then He asked me questions, He so skilled in questions
and so wise.

And unwavering, unaffrighted answered there the
Master I. (482)

He The-thus-Come then commended how the questions
answered were.

And the brethren-host surveying, to them made this
matter known :— (483)

‘Fortunate are they of Anga, and of Magadha, from
whom

Such as he procureth¹ raiment, food and lodging,
medicine

And the reverence that is seemly, yea, they’re happy!
so He said. (484)

‘From to-day henceforth, Sopāka, come to see Me
when thou wilt.

Our discourse alone, Sopāka, shall thine ordination¹
be.’ (485)

Seven were my years when to me ordination thus was
given.

Now I bear the final body. Hail! fair Order of the
Norm.¹ (486)

¹ I have rendered these relatively crude and artless verses almost literally, not trying to recast them in English more aesthetically satisfying. If there be any truth in the tradition, they were composed by a boy of the people, of natural genius (for deep questions), but of no education. And the youth and lack of literary ability seem to be betrayed in the simply told Pali. There is a world of difference between it and the form and contents of such poems as, say, Mīgajāla’s, Kosiya’s, or those of the Kassapa brothers.

CCXXVIII

Sarabhanga.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a certain brahmin, he was given a name according to or independent of family traditions, he having no distinctive marks¹ [and that name is forgotten]. But he became, when of age, an ascetic, making a hut for himself out of reed-stalks, which he had broken off, and from that time he was known as Sara-bhanga—reed-plucker. Now the Exalted One, looking over the world with the Awakened Eye, discerned in him the conditions of arahantship, and going to him taught him the Norm. And he, convicted and becoming a member, in due course won arahantship, continuing to live in his hut. This became decayed and crumbling, and people noticing it, said : 'Why, your reverence, do you not repair it?' The Thera, saying : 'The hut was made when I was doing ascetic practices ; now I cannot do the like,' set forth the whole matter thus :

Ay, reeds in handfuls once I plucked, and built
 A hut wherein I sojourned ; hence the name
 'Reedpicker' given me by the common voice. (487)
 But not to me doth it belong to-day
 To pluck the reeds in handfuls as of yore,
 Because of what the training doth prescribe,
 Revealed to us by glorious GOTAMA. (488)
 How wholly and entirely he did ail :—
 That had Reedpicker never seen before.
 This sorely ailing state he came to see
 Through word of Him who is beyond the
 gods. (489)
 The self-same Path by which VIPASSI went,
 The Path of SIKHI and of VESSABHU,
 Of KAKUSANDHA, KOṆĀGAMANA,
 And KASSAPA, e'en by that very Road
 Lo! now to us there cometh GOTAMA. (490)

¹ See legend in CCXXXII., CCXXXIII.



'Lo! now to us there cometh Gotama.'

A mutilated statuette found among ruined sites on the Peshawar side of the Indus, just outside the Hazira district; now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

To face p. 236.

THE ARISTOCRACY SOCIETY. CALCUTTA

And all these seven Buddhas,¹—they for whom
Craving was dead, and nought was grasped, and
who

Stood planted on Abolishing of Ill²—

They taught this Norm, ay, even such as they,

Who were themselves the body of the Norm,³ (491)

In great compassion for us all, e'en these

Four Ariyan Truths: the Truth of Ill; the Cause;

The Path; the End, th' abolishing, of Ill, (492)

Whereby the endless tale of grief and pain

In life's great cycle cannot take its course;⁴

For when this body dies and life is spent,

No other rebirth cometh more—yea, free

Am I from birth, from evil utterly!⁵ (493)

¹ On the seven see *Dialogues*, i. 1 ff.

² *Khayogadhū*. *Khaya* = Nibbāna (Commentary).

³ *Dhammabhūtū* = Norm, become *dhammakāyā*, paraphrases *Dhammapāla*, using the term so largely coming into favour in Mahāyānism.

⁴ *Nibbattate*, paraphrased as (*nirvattate*) *na pavattati*, (*na*) *uppajjati*, i.e., through *nirodha*, Nibbāna.

⁵ So the Commentary: *sabbehi kilesahi, sabbehi bhavahi*. The reader might well miss the point of this fine poem without the simple but illuminating legend, and imagine it was not becoming for a Thera to work with his hands, as Dr. Neumann's rendering seems to imply. The bhikkhus built 'huts' galore, made and mended their garments, etc. But Sarabhangas's point is that of those other two Hut-theras in LVI., LVII.: their 'one thing needful' is the non-renewal of the *attabhāva-kuṭikā*, as the Commentary calls it, the 'personal organism-hut,' and hence it is, that he so harps on the ending of ill—i.e., of rebirth. The state of his reed-hut is a trifling detail, useful only as a symbol. Poem and legend may have grown up out of the interpretation of the name. This occurs as that of a seer, not only in the *Jātakas* (iii. 464; v. 127 ff.), but also in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*.

CANTO VIII

PSALMS OF EIGHT VERSES

CCXXIX

Kaccā[ya]na the Great.

REBORN in this Buddha-age at Ujjenī, in the family of the chaplain of King Caṇḍapajjota, he learned the three Vedas as he grew, and succeeded, at his father's death, to the post of chaplain. And he was known by his gens name of Kaccāna.¹ Now the king heard of the Buddha's advent, and said : 'Teacher, do you go and bring the Master hither.' He, with a party of seven, went to the Master, who taught him the Norm with such effect that at the end of the lesson, he, with his seven attendants, were established in arahantship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. Then the Master, saying, 'COME, BHIKKHUS!' stretched forth his hand, and they forthwith were as Theras of a century of rain-seasons, hair of two fingers' length cut off, and equipped with bowl and robes.

Then the Thera, having successfully accomplished his own salvation, invited the Master on the king's behalf : 'Lord, the King Pajjota desires to worship at your feet and hear the Norm.' The Master said : 'Do you, bhikkhu, go

¹ He was one of the eleven or twelve 'Great' Theras (*Vin. Texts*, ii. 317, 359), and the teacher of Soṇa-Kuṭikanna (CCVIII.). In the Vinaya and Nikāyas, the name usually appears as Kaccāna. So, too, the Cy. The king is met with in *Jāt.*, v. 188; *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 192 ff.; and as Pajjota in *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 186. See also *Kathāsarit-sūgara*, i. 102.

yourself; by your mission, too, will the king be satisfied.' He, thus bidden, went with the seven, satisfied the king's desire, established him in the faith,¹ and returned to the Master.

One day many bhikkhus, having put aside their duties, and finding pleasure in worldly activities and in society, were leading desultory lives. The Thera thereupon admonished them in two verses, and in the next six admonished the king:

Let not a brother occupy himself
With busy works, let him keep clear of folk,
Nor strive [to copy nor to emulate].
Who greedy seeks to taste life's feast entire,
Neglects the good that brings true happiness. (494)
A treacherous bog it is, this patronage
Of bows and gifts and treats from wealthy
folk.
'Tis like a fine dart bedded in the flesh,
For erring human hard to extricate.² (495)

(To the King.)

Not evil are the actions of a man
Because of what another [saith or doth];
'Tis of himself he must from wrong abstain,³
Of their own acts the offspring mortals be.⁴ (496)
No speech of others makes a man a thief,
No speech of others makes a man a sage;
And what we know at heart we really are,
That do the gods who know our hearts know
too.⁴ (497)

¹ *Sāsane*.

² = verses 124, and 1052 f.

³ *Mujjh.*, iii. 203; *Ang.*, iii. 72.

⁴ The Commentary reads *attā ca naṃ yathāvedīti naṃ sattāṃ tassa attā cittaṃ yathā ayaṃ parisuddho aparisuddho cūti yathāvato avevī jānāti*. The devas are then credited—i.e., the purer gods—with knowing the thoughts of others.

People can never really understand
 That we are here but for a little spell.
 But they who grasp this truth indeed,
 Suffer all strife and quarrels to abate.¹ (498)
 The wise man is alive, and he alone,
 Although his wealth be utterly destroyed ;
 And if the man of wealth do wisdom lack,
 For all his wealth he doth not truly live. (499)

(*To the King consulting him about a dream.*)²

Things of all sorts by way of ear we hear ;
 Things of all sorts by way of eye we see ;
 And for the wise and strong it is not fit
 All to neglect as things unseen, unheard. (500)
 Let him as seeing be as he were blind,
 Let him as hearing be as he were deaf,
 Let him, in wisdom versed, be as one dumb,
 And let the man of strength be as the weak ;
 But let the thing of genuine good arise :—
 Be *that* for him the nesting-place of thought.³ (501)

¹ = verse 275.

² The king's dream is not told. He is only said to have gone next day to the Thera and told it 'in the order in which he had seen it.' The oracular reply may not have proved satisfying, but it is quite in keeping with the 'Great Sila' of *Dialogues*, i. 17(4). The chaplain was largely an astrologer and dream interpreter; the Sākiya-śamaṇa was concerned with the bed-rock realities of waking life and moral law.

³ The last six lines are quoted in *Milinda*, ii. 282 f. My own rendering is guided by the high import attaching to *attha* (good) through the 'Psalms,' and by Dhammapāla. The latter, it is true, is no adequate guide. He omits any reference to 'in wisdom versed' (see *Milinda*, ii. 283, n. 1), and makes no attempt to paraphrase the curious *mata-sāyikaṇ* except by *mataka-sāyikaṇ*. Preceding this word he has *passetha* = *passitvā*. The whole poem seems to be a patchwork of annexed gnomie proverbs from the current popular philosophy, annexed like much of *Saṃyutta I.* and the *Jātaka*s by the Canon, and only essentially in sympathy with the Buddhist teaching.

CCXXX

Sirimitta.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha as the son of a very wealthy landowner, he was named Sirimitta, his mother being sister to Sirigutta, whose story is included in the *Dhammapada Commentary*.¹ Now he, Sirimitta, Sirigutta's nephew, found faith when the Master subdued the elephant Dhanapāla.² And he entered the Order, and in due course became arahant.

One day rising from his seat to recite the Pātimokkha, he took a painted fan,³ and reseating himself, taught the Norm to the bhikkhus, and in so doing, distinguished the more eminent virtues thus :

From anger and from hatred free,
Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Look you ! a brother such as he,
When he goes hence,⁴ will weep no more. (502)

From anger and from hatred free,
Clean of deceit, of slander bare,
Ever 'door-guarded '⁵ brother, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more. (503)

From anger, etc. 4
... of slander bare,
Brother of noble virtue, he,
When he goes hence, will weep no more. (504)

¹ Presumably in i. 484 ff. He was a lay-adherent of Sāvattthī.

² Called Nāḷāgiri in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 247-250. Cf. *Milinda*, i. 297 ff.

³ So did the learned Sister Khujjutarā in preaching (*Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 209).

⁴ 'To another world' (Commentary). He is not discoursing necessarily of or to arahants. Cf. for a different import in the phrase, verse 188.

⁵ *Gutta-dvāro*, the technical phrase in Buddhist ethics for control over the 'gates' of sense.

From anger, etc.

Brother of virtuous comrades, he,

When he goes hence, will weep no more. (505)

From anger, etc.

Brother of noble insight, he,

When he goes hence, will weep no more. (506)

Having discoursed against anger and so on, he then set forth the supreme career by verses describing the right attitude for individuals, testifying thereby to añña in himself :

Of him whose faith in the Tathāgata

Is firmly planted and unwavering,

Whose virtues are commended by the good

And pleasing in the eyes of Ariyans,¹ (507)

Who dwells contented with the Brotherhood,

Who in his views is candid and sincere :

'No pauper he,' they say, with so much wealth,

Nor sterile and in vain the life of him. (508)

So let the wise man, so let him who aye

Remembereth that which Buddhas have enjoined,

Devote himself to faith and righteousness,

To know the blessedness they brought to us

And the true vision of the holy Norm.² (509)

CCXXXI

Panthaka Major.

When our Master had gone to Rājagaha, rolling the excellent wheel of righteousness, Panthaka, the elder son³

¹ Buddhas, Silent (Pacceka) Buddhas, and earnest disciples (*Buddha-sāvaka*).

² = verse 204.

³ The untimely birth of the boys when their mother had set out to return to her kinsfolk, their being named 'Roadling' the Greater and the Less, and their going to live with her kinsfolk, is briefly sketched here, but is told more fully in *Jāt.*, i. 14 ff., and *Anguttara Commentary* on i. 26.

of a rich councillor's daughter and one of her father's servants, used to go with his grandfather to hear the Master, and so won faith with insight. Entering the Order, he became highly versed in the Buddha-Word, and in the four abstract jhānas, in due time becoming arahant. Dwelling in the bliss of jhāna and of fruition, he was reviewing one day his achievement, and in great joy thereat burst into a 'lion's roar' thus :

When first I saw the blessed Master, Him
 For whom no fear can anywhence arise,
 A wave of deep emotion filled my soul
 At sight of Him, the peerless man of men. (510)
 Had a man erst on hands and knees besought
 Favour of Fortune's goddess hither come,
 And won the grace of Master such as this,
 Still might he fail to win [the thing he
 sought].¹ (511)

I for my part [all hindrance] cast away—
 [The hope of] wife and children, coin and corn,²
 And let my hair and beard be shorn, and forth
 Into the homeless life I went from home. (512)
 The life and training practising, all faculties
 Well held in hand, in loyalty to Him,
 Buddha supreme, master of self I lived. (513)
 Then longing rose within my heart, I yearned
 [To consummate]: 'Now will I no more sit,
 Not even for a moment, while the dart
 Of craving sticketh and is not withdrawn. (514)
 Of me thus aye abiding, O ! behold³
 And mark the onward stride of energy :

¹ 'Unlucky . . . fail at the ninth moment' (? eleventh hour), says the Commentary, which sees, moreover, in *siriṇ* an allusion not to the goddess of luck (*Buddhist India*, p. 217), but to the *sirisayana* or *cathedra* of a teacher.

² Living as a minor with his grandparents, he had as yet none of these, remarks the Commentary.

³ For this and following lines, cf. verses 167, 224, 296, 382, 477.

The Threefold Wisdom have I made my own,
And all the Buddha bids us do is done. (515)
I know the where and when of former lives,
And clearly shines the eye celestial.
Ar'hant am I, worthy men's offerings.
Released and without basis for rebirth. (516)
For as the darkness melted into light,
And the day broke with rising of the sun,
From craving, stanch'd and dry, had come release,
And on my couch crosslegged I sat in peace. (517)

